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THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J.

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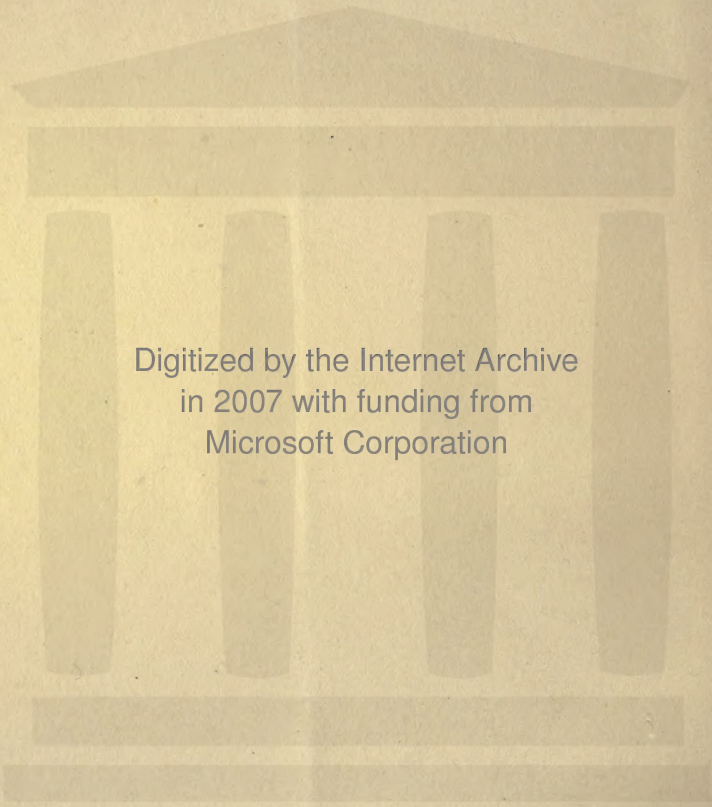

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THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY

REV. JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J.

(Associate Editor of AMERICA)

"Whom will you that I release to you, Barabbas, or Jesus that is called Christ?"—*Matt., xxvii:* 17.

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1912

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by

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DEDICATED

TO THE

PATRON OF LABOR,

THE FOSTER FATHER

OF HIM WHO WAS KNOWN

AS THE

SON OF THE CARPENTER

Imprimi potest

JOSEPH F. HANSELMAN, S.J.
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Archbishop of New York

New York, August 21, 1912.

PREFACE

THE present work is largely, though not exclusively, concerned with the religious view of the social question. It is this which must first be understood before we can satisfactorily approach the economic issues. If Socialism, as it exists to-day, the great international movement which attracts the attention of the world and calls for its allegiance, is shown to be opposed to Christianity, irreconcilable with our Holy Religion and detrimental to its best interests, then at least the first important conclusion has been definitely attained, the first step has been taken towards the solution of the social problem. No Catholic, no Christian, can then offer his vote or support to the Socialist Party; but all must combine their strength to combat against it in the coming conflict which will soon divide the working classes of the world under the banners of Marx or Christ.

The battle is not so much between Capitalism and Socialism as between Socialism and Christian Labor. Socialism can not abhor more strongly the excesses of an unjust and oppressive greed than they have been condemned in the encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. Between the selfish and unjust extremes of tyrannical Socialism and unrestrained Capitalism there lies the only way to industrial liberation and Christian concord, which is pointed out by the Catholic Church.

With our first problem clearly solved we can then proceed to discriminate between the good and evil in the economic doctrines which Socialism proposes. No heresy has ever been so wholly and hopelessly false that it did not reflect at least some broken lights of truth. This we may rightly say of Socialism where truth and error, fact and fiction are forever blended in an indistinguishable confusion. What is good we must keep and perfect, what is wrong and evil we must relentlessly

reject. For the rest we have the guidance of our faith and the clear words of the sovereign pontiffs to construct that ideal Christian Commonwealth towards whose realization we can then cooperate by social service and legal reform.

Many of the chapters in this work appeared originally in the pages of AMERICA. All, however, have been carefully revised since the first writing, some have been recast or more completely developed, while others are entirely new.

New York, August 15, 1912.

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PART I

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCH

"It is the opinion of some, and the error is already very common, that the social question is merely an economic one, whereas in point of fact it is above all a moral and religious matter, and for that reason must be settled by the principles of morality and according to the dictates of religion. For even though wages are doubled and the hours of labor are shortened, and food is cheapened, yet if the workingman harkens to the doctrines that are taught on this subject, as he is prone to do, and is prompted by the examples set before him to throw off respect for God and to enter upon a life of immorality, his labors and his gain will avail him naught. Socialism cunningly works its way into the heart of the community, in the darkness of secret assemblies, and openly in the light of day, by speeches and by writings, it excites the people to sedition; the restraints of religion are thrown aside; duties are neglected, and only rights upheld; daily larger and larger crowds of the poor are solicited whose narrow circumstances make them more open to deception and more easily hurried into error. Civil society, no less than religion, is imperilled; it is the sacred duty of every right-minded man to be up in defense of both the one and the other."—Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical on "Christian Democracy," Jan. 18, 1901.

"This economic—and nothing but economic—Socialism is a metaphysical abstraction. One of the greatest insights of Marx was that of the connections of the economic with the other aspects of human life. And Socialism as a revolutionary theory of society implies an ethical, religious and political revolution as a consequence of the economic one."—Belfort Bax, "Commonwealth," Vol. IV, No. 116.

The Church and Social Problems

I

THE TWO STANDARDS

SOME years ago a Princeton professor, Walter A. Wyckoff, tramped the country as a penniless wage-earner, engaged by turn in a variety of occupations in order to study more closely the great social and economic problems of the day. After the first eighteen months of experience he thus summed up the religious situation in the labor world: "We may accept it as indisputably true that the body of wage-workers are outside the Church and completely indifferent to it. In contrast with this fact is the interesting one that the Roman Church has retained its hold upon those of the workers who have come under its influence."

Wisely he warned the members of his own denomination that the atmosphere of social distinction and worldly opulence which so often surrounds the fashionable Protestant churches along the boulevards and avenues of our large cities, is too forbidding to their less fortunate brethren. And certainly, whatever efforts Protestantism may put forth in the interest of the poor, the Catholic Church alone is ever open to receive them as distinctively her own, her walls are built with the pennies of their earnings, her shrines are the monuments of their devotion, her children by the millions are found among their ranks.

So clear is this very claim to divine institution that we often hear it mentioned as a by-word of reproach against her. It is Socialism alone which would deny her this inalienable, God-given right of ministration to His poor.

What gives to Socialism its prestige at the present day is that it has begun to grow respectable. It is no longer the haggard spectre once used to frighten children. The long-

haired, wild-eyed agitator, "with bombs in all his pockets," has given place to the smooth-faced scholarly author who can perform artistically with far more dangerous explosives. Socialism now numbers in its ranks men of distinction in the most various walks of life, in literature, in art, in science. It is daily taken more and more seriously and rated at its own valuation. The world even wonders whether the last fulfillment of the Christmas promise may not rest with it; for men's hearts have grown carnal and they can not understand the things of the spirit.

Yet good and sincere men are too often drawn into its vortex, and these at least may be saved. One of the greatest leaders in the German Catholic literature of to-day is a convert from Socialism, as likewise, at an earlier period, was the grand patriarch of our own Catholic world of letters, Orestes A. Brownson. It may be interesting to recall at the present hour what he held upon this question more than half a century ago.

"No man," he wrote in January, 1849, "who has studied the age can, if he have any tolerable powers of generalization, doubt that the Socialistic principles are those now all but universally adopted. They are at the bottom of nearly all hearts, and at work in nearly all minds; and just in proportion as men acquire courage enough to say not only two and two, two and two, but that two and two *make four*, the age rushes to their practical realization—accepts their logical developments, however horrible, however impious. There is an invincible logic in society which pushes it to the realization of the last consequences of its principles." (*Socialism and the Church.*) Read in the light of what the world has witnessed since the day that these lines were penned, we feel that there is in them something almost of prophetic wisdom. It rests with us to see that the full burden of what they imply may not be verified.

Protestantism is helpless and inadequate in the present crisis. Agnoticism and Socialism alike find her yielding or unprepared. Of her pastors many have struck their colors and have

passed over to the enemy, some are dumb with fear and vaguely look into the future to read the writing on the wall, while others with greater courage are waging a brave but undisciplined warfare against powers with which they are not armed to cope. Not so, however, the Catholic Church. It is not with fear and trembling, but with a deep pity that should move to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice, that we scan the field before us. Thanks under God to the Pontiff who rules over us, we stand united in a solid phalanx which no earthly power shall break.

It is true that in their "Evolution of Religion" Agnostic and Socialist vauntingly call upon us to look with them into the yawning depths of the grave they are preparing. We behold them daily at their work, casting up into the light of day, one after another, the remnants of past religions, and jolting them together upon a common heap, only to make room, they tell us, for the newest tenant, the Catholic Church.

It is the old familiar scene from "Hamlet" without its saving humor. The grave is dug, deep and wide, and the chapless bones are ruthlessly "knocked about the mazzard with a sexton's spade." But the burial to take place is not that which they imagined. The humor of the poet gives way to the dreadful irony of God, and they who dug the grave are laid away in it. "Behold they shall speak with their mouth, and a sword is in their lips. . . . But thou, O Lord, shalt laugh at them: Thou shalt bring all the nations to nothing." (Ps. lviii: 8, 9.)

In their exultation they have failed to note that the long dead and buried creeds with which they vainly compare the Church were but the offspring of the human mind, while in her alone is to be found the fulfillment of all type and prophecy. She alone, in a world of change, has forever remained unchanging and unchangeable. To her alone has been given the infallible promise, "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 1.)

With each persecution men believed that the days of the Church were numbered. Pagan Rome began the work of

consigning to oblivion her hated rival, and to-day there sweeps, in sublime magnificence, over the ruins of her palaces, the dome of Saint Peter's. No sooner had idolatry vanished than Arianism arose. Its coming was even more sudden and its growth more marvelous than the development of modern Socialism. But there was for it only a short space of rejoicing when its decline began. Men woke up, as they said, to find the world was Arian. But it was only an illusion. The word of God could never fail: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (Matt. xvi, 18.)

Socialism vainly dreams that it beholds in the defense of the Church against its incessant attacks the signs of fear and consternation. "Had Socialism the hand of an Almighty God behind it," they say, "it would not be afraid of any thing. Yet the Church seems afraid of us." No, the Catholic Church has no fear of Socialist or Socialism; but her heart is filled with pity for the souls they would drag to ruin, no less than for the discord, destruction and unhappiness they would bring into the world. There is fear, not for her, but for those of her children who are, perhaps, too weak in faith and grace to withstand temptation or too wilful to listen to her voice of warning and command. The slanders and calumnies against her with which all Socialist literature is teeming, can not soil even the hem of her garment much less dim the lustre of one single star in the diadem that crowns her.

To understand the true menace of Socialism for her children it is necessary to understand the extent of this propaganda. On high-way and by-way, in shop and home, from countless rostrums and numberless presses is going on a constant and effective apostolate of evil. That the forces of Socialism are clearly against the Church and her infallible teaching is beyond all doubt, as we shall have sufficient occasion to see. Socialism is the modern expression of heresy and infidelity against which the Church is called to combat in our day. The same spirit who once appeared in the wilderness to Our Lord

and unrolled before Him the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, again repeats his lying promise: "All this will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me." How hard even for the Catholic to resist.

Far indeed is the Church from desiring to debar the laborer from bettering his conditions. It is the most earnest desire of the Supreme Pontiff himself that all should unite for the temporal and spiritual well-being of the laboring classes, and for the social peace and brotherhood of all mankind which Socialism would forever make impossible in spite of its deceptive promises. There is no means that lies within the power of man and the law of God to elevate the position of the laborer to its true dignity and to win for him the due recompense of his toil, which the Church will not gladly sanction, bless and support. To do more, however tempting the immediate success may appear, would be no less ruinous than impious. No voice has ever been raised so strongly, so clearly, so insistently, without fear and without compromise, in the cause of the oppressed and disinherited of all lands and all ages as that of the Catholic Church. "All agree and there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found and found quickly for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes." Such are the clear and emphatic words of Pope Leo XIII.

If we were, therefore, to apply to religion Lord Rosebery's prediction, whose fulfillment we daily behold, that the politics of the future are to be the politics of the poor, it would follow that the Church of the future could be no other than the Church of the poor, the centuried Church of Christ. But for this conviction we need no economic forecast.

Amid the surging waves of discontent, the passing of ancient traditions, the rejection of all authority whether human or divine, the struggle ceaselessly fomented between class and class, and the mighty upheaval of the laboring masses, there is no other power that can safely and surely stand amid the

storms and tides of the times than the Church which Christ Himself has based upon the rock of Peter.

Her mission has never been more glorious that it is in our own day. If her enemies conspire against her on all sides, it is precisely because they see in her the one and only power to put their malice to confusion. Upon her depends most visibly the future of the world.

"If Christian Europe," wrote Pope Leo XIII, "has subdued barbarous nations and drawn them away from savagery to a civilized condition and from superstition to the light of truth; if it victoriously rolled back the invasions of the Mussulman, retained the headship of civilization and stood ever foremost as leader and teacher of all nations in every sort of praiseworthy progress; if it was able to give nations real and large liberties, in order to alleviate human sufferings; if it established on every hand learned and beneficent institutions; there is no doubt but that in large measure it owes all this to the religion, under whose auspices and inspirations it was quickened to so many great undertakings. . . . And in truth it is a fact borne out by history that the institutions most efficacious to procure public safety, the best adapted to remove bad government and tyranny from the nations, to prevent the undue interference of the State in the action of municipalities and families; the dispositions best qualified to guarantee among individual citizens their dignity, human personality, and the equality of rights, had their origin either from the Church, or were by her blessed and protected. She, moreover, is ever consistent, with herself. If on the one side she rejects the excessive liberty which, to the detriment alike of individuals as well as of the public, hurries humanity on to end in license and in slavery, she receives, on the other hand, with open heart and with gladsomeness the progress which time achieves, provided it promise really to increase the prosperity of the present life, which is only as a transit leading to that other which is to last forever." (*Encyclical Immortale Dei, "On the Christian Constitution of States," Nov.* 1, 1885.)

II

THE HOSTILE CAMP

WITHIN barely half a century Socialism has become a power in the world. In every section of the globe we behold it stirring up hatred and rebellion. It is struggling for supremacy in Germany; it is marshalling its legions in England; it is gathering its strength for the conquest of Belgium; it is terrorizing in its lawlessness which it always seeks to disavow, but which constantly and inevitably springs from it, the Latin nations of Europe; it has penetrated into the most distant lands and is active at its work in China and Japan. Everywhere it is manifesting the same deadly hostility towards the Catholic Church, everywhere it is defaming her priesthood, denouncing her doctrines, destroying the faith of her children where it can lure them to its side.

We have witnessed in our day one paroxysm of Socialist hatred against the Catholic Church succeeding another. Italy, France, Spain, Austria and Germany have been the scenes of these outbreaks. In Belgium, as elsewhere, Catholic churches and institutions were singled out for destruction by the Socialist rioters. To pretend therefore that Socialism is not opposed to Catholicism would seem to be a wanton insult to the intelligence of the average Catholic workingman. Yet we know that precisely this plea is put before him, and a campaign of Catholic education upon this very question becomes daily more imperative.

"Socialism and Christianity," says Dietzgen, whom Marx styled the Philosopher of Socialism, "differ from each other as the day from the night." (*Philosophical Essays, p.* 122). They are opposed to each other, Bebel tells us, "as fire and water." (*Christianity and Socialism, p.* 16.) "To Christianize Socialism," the notorious Herron remarks, "would be to destroy it." A Christian Socialist is an anomaly. We may

safely say that either he is not a Christian or he is not a Socialist. Socialism in its fundamental doctrine of economic determinism, injustice to rightful possesors of productive property, and ultimate materialism, to which the entire movement is reducible, can only be considered as essentially opposed to Christianity. This every great Socialist "classic" concedes.

Mr. Spargo, one of the most conservative of modern Socialist writers, plainly stated the case in *The Comrade* for May, 1903. But although, as we shall see, he there makes an open confession of Socialistic insincerity in this regard, he carefully avoids adding the necessary resolution of amendment, nor has any betterment actually taken place. This Socialist weakness, which others no less candidly admit, is characteristic of a very large class of authors whose only consideration is the progress of their propaganda.

"How often," he says, "do we see quoted in our own press, from the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' that familiar fallacy that 'the ethics of Christianity and Socialism are identical.' It is not true; we do not ourselves, in most cases, believe it. We repeat it because it appeals to the slave-mind of the world. It is easier so to act, than to affirm, what in our very souls we feel to be true, that Socialism as an ethical interpretation of life, is far removed from Christianity and of infinitely greater beauty and worth. . . . Socialism Christianized would be Socialism emasculated and destroyed."

It was as an appeal to the "slave-mind" of his Catholic readers that Mr. Spargo, together with the other equally religious members of the National office, published during the month of February, 1912, two hundred thousand copies of "A Catholic Defense of Socialism." The German leader, Bebel, the most infamous of free thinkers and free-love agitators, has, according to report, gone even much further in this method of campaign. The story is told that while lecturing before a Catholic audience in a little village in Germany, he drew out a rosary from his pocket and at the climax of his speech displayed it before his hearers. It was his argument to prove

that perfect harmony exists between the Church and Socialism. Such methods of dishonesty will lead to their own confusion.

There is no need of dwelling here at any length upon the antagonism between Socialism and the Church. No one who has more than a mere surface knowledge of the question can doubt it for a moment. In proof of it we could gather on the briefest notice an entire library of evidence from exclusively Socialist sources. "There is nothing to be gained," says a contributor to the *Call,* "by holding out false hopes that a study of Socialism does not tend to undermine religious beliefs. The theory of economic determinism alone, if thoroughly grasped, leaves no room for a belief in the supernatural." (March 2, 1911). Yet even this theory which necessarily makes Christianity itself, like all else, dependent upon environment and therefore subject to change—which no Catholic can admit—is often explained as if in conformity with whatever doctrine the reader or hearer may hold.

No Catholic, therefore, can give support to the Socialist movement without treason to his faith. That many are misled by false representations and vote for Socialism where they imagine they are voting for Social Reform is undoubtedly true. It is precisely the duty of the priest and of Catholic writers and speakers to make clear this difference. "There is no need, no excuse for Socialism. But there is sore need of Social Reform" (Kane).

The attitude of the entire movement towards the Catholic clergy can best be understood from a picture which formed the cover-design for the *International Socialist Review* for October, 1911. It represents an open pyramidal structure. Stooped beneath it and supporting it are the laborers: men, women and children, groaning under its weight, and the inscription reads: "We work for all." "We feed all." On the lowest story of the structure thus supported is the world of the employers, feasting and carousing, since according to Socialist theory there is no work accomplished except by the wage-slave, as they call the toiler, and the legend reads: "We

eat for you." On a higher stage may now be seen the soldiers ready for their charge upon the laborers in case they should revolt against their masters: "We shoot at you." Still higher, as the platform narrows, there is an altar with priests and cross and book and censer, and the meaning is thus interpreted for us: "We fool you." Then come the king and those in power, whose servile ministers the priesthood is always represented to be; and finally, crowning all and god of all, the money-bag.

This succinctly teaches the entire Socialistic doctrine as it may be verified in any paper issued from their press. The priesthood are for them more formidable and more detestable than the power of capitalism and repressive militarism. Working upon the superstition of the people they betray manhood into slavery, we are told, and womanhood into shame, and all for the sake of filthy lucre. "Capitalist exploitation," Victor Berger says, is better than "Roman Catholic exploitation."

We shall content ourselves with a few quotations, representing two phases of Socialist opinion of the priesthood. The first is from no less an authority among Socialist writers than Paul Lafargue.

"The Catholic clergy, with its novenas, its pilgrimages, and its other mummeries, is of all clergies that which practices most wisely the art of brain-destruction; it is also the best equipped for furnishing ignorant brothers and sisters to teach in primary schools, and nuns to stand guard over women in factories (Good Shepherd nuns). The great industrial capitalists, on account of its manifold services, sustain it politically and financially, in spite of their antipathy for its hierarchy, its rapacity, and its intrusion into family affairs." (*Social and Philosophical Studies, p.* 45.)

If we look for a more lurid description we may quote the following from the *Call* (October 2, 1910), by Edmund Defreyne:

"And last, stealthiest, most sinister, and unscrupulous of all foes of Socialism, humanity, evolution and civilization comes

the so-called Holy Catholic Church of Rome. The priests of this great business corporation and religion are, by training and through self-interest, opposed to any system of political, industrial and social reform and regeneration whose fundamental ideas and ideals are liberty, etc., etc., . . . for Romanism is built upon autocracy, dogma, ignorance, inequality, enslaved thought, blind credulity, dog-like obedience and hostility to all human enlightenment and progress. The papacy has invariably fought truth to the last ditch, and its history is a record of fanatical intolerance, hatred, malice, greed, cruelty, falsehood and blood-lust. . . . Once in a while some big-hearted, big-brained courageous priest, like the late and great Father Thomas McGrady or Father Hagerty, breaks loose from the soul-destroying faith and bravely takes his stand with suffering humanity."

"Theology," says another writer in this same official organ, "is the greatest obstruction to modern progress. It environs man from the cradle to the grave and chains him with fetters that are stronger than brass or iron. The priest is the only implacable foe of progress. He is the only outlaw against reason and common sense. He is the only real infidel, because he spurns the commonest facts that are revealed in Nature, our common mother. All other men may be redeemed, all others may be saved, but the priest is either a hopeless wallower in the mire of superstition and ignorance, or he is a traitor to reason, the divinest gift of life!" (*Rev. Gustavus H. Lastrow, Unitarian minister, Nov.* 26, 1911.)

Such accounts of the Catholic Church and the Catholic priesthood, written with more or less acrimony, are commonplaces of Socialist literature. An article contributed by the present writer to the *Ecclesiastical Review* for September, 1911, in which he proved that Socialism is one of the main factors advocating publicity in the means for the prevention of conception; encouraging race suicide on economic principles; making child-bearing solely the choice of individuals, with whom alone it rests to decide whether by the marital

act they will have children or not; and championing the utmost freedom in the question of divorce, elicited a lengthy letter to the *Call*. It was written by Dr. William J. Robinson, of New York, the editor of several medical journals, who made no denial of the facts; but rather endorsed them. He likewise reiterated the statement that opposition, "tooth and nail," between the Church and Socialism is inevitable, and thus concluded:

"How could it be different? The Church would not be true to itself if it did not oppose Socialism. Dogmatic religion and Socialism, *which is nothing if not rationalistic,* are as opposed to each other as are the two poles, as are darkness and light, as are reaction and progress, as are ignorance and science . . . as are the dark, hopeless past and the bright hopeful future."

This of course is the Socialist point of view; but it emphasizes the fact that a long and serious conflict lies before us, and that we must prepare both ourselves and our people to meet the issues which shall test all our wisdom and zeal. Social Reform and not Socialism, is the watchword of our cause.

A picture which appeared in the *Call* for January 27, 1912, significantly expresses the Socialist attitude towards the Catholic Church, as history has everywhere verified it. It was occasioned by the victory of the Socialists in Cologne, the stronghold of the Centre, which was betrayed into their hands by the National Liberals during the elections of 1912. Because of its Catholicity and its religious institutions Cologne is characterized by the Socialist paper as "the charnal house of the dead men's bones of ignorance and superstition, the cemetery of eleven thousand virgins."

The sketch represents the ancient cathedral of the city. A Socialist with the liberty cap of the French revolutionists is hoisting the red flag in triumph over the cross upon the steeple. Bishops and priests, drawn in detestable caricatures, are seen fleeing away with mitre and crosier and money bag.

"Down with the black and up with the red!" is the slogan that is raised as the party cry.

Coming from the official organ of the Socialist Party, this makes sufficiently clear what the designs of Socialism are no less upon Saint Patrick's cathedral in New York than upon the minster of Cologne. There is nothing new or startling in this, since we have been accustomed to find attacks upon the Catholic Church to be an inseparable part of the Socialist propaganda. Confiscation of churches to serve as dance halls, and of their sanctuaries to be converted into stage or lecture platform, would be the first step after the closing of the Catholic schools could the Socialist dream be fully realized.

III

PITFALLS OF SOCIALISM

CIRCUMSPECTION no less than fairness and a thorough knowledge of our subject is a prime requisite in dealing with modern Socialism. Though we may not hope under any circumstances to escape the gratuitous charges of ignorance and voluntary misrepresentation, yet Catholic workingmen will not readily be misled where these accusations are made without any foundation in fact. We need but open any Socialist book or journal to find that whatever stands opposed to the infallible theories there proclaimed is invariably treated as conceived in ignorance or falsehood. Such reasoning belongs to the most elementary tactics of Socialist speakers and writers. Their general attitude is well, if not most elegantly, expressed in the *Call:* "The next time anybody quotes an anti-Socialist to you, sail in on him for believing so unreliable a person. Show him how every anti-Socialist is a prevaricator." (*M. Metz, August* 20, 1911.)

To take the edge from these accusations we must evidently be equally prudent and accurate. Passing over the unqualified assertions that Socialism is opposed to private property; that it would "divide up"; that it demands not merely perfect equality of opportunities, but perfect equality in other regards —statements which call, to say the least, for distinctions or explanation—we confine ourselves to a few more vital questions. It is not so much with the injustice and futility of Socialism that we are concerned as with its menace to religion.

In dealing with this last consideration we cannot, as is evident, accuse all Socialists indiscriminately of all the moral obliquities inherent in the Marxian system. Many are merely nominally Socialists, who have been attracted by principles of social reform which in nowise represent the nature of Social-

ism itself. Yet the popular movement, which they are strengthening by their imprudent support, is unquestionably committed to the materialism and atheism which we can and must affirm of it. The Socialist literature which will assuredly find its way into their hands is filled with all that we condemn in Socialism. If certain limits of moderation are still preserved in any publication, yet books of the worst type will there be freely recommended and the most perversive principles be granted full discussion. The reader will soon be lost in the danger to which he has exposed himself. There is no Socialist publication which can be placed into the hands of Catholics.

Socialism as a popular movement, which is so definitely condemned by the Holy Father and the Bishops over all the world, is but the outward body, whose soul is the materialistic philisophy of Marx. With the passing away of materialism the Socialistic movement itself would cease to be a living factor. All leading Socialists, directly or indirectly admit this truth.

It is evident therefore how deceptive is the common Socialistic sophism that we are not to denounce a political party because some of its members chance to be agnostics. Most certainly not! But if that party, like International Socialism, is based upon historic materialism, if its leaders themselves identify it with such a theory, if its literature is permeated with anti-Catholic bigotry of the most radical kind, and if in consequence no opportunity is lost to oppose the Church in practice and in theory, then we do and must denounce such a party, then no Catholic can strengthen or support it with his vote unless he would be guilty of the basest disloyalty to his holy faith. Such, as we have seen, is the nature of the Socialist movement as it actually exists among us.

Pope Pius X recently warned the bishops of Italy to preserve Italian emigrants from falling into the toils of Socialism. It was not against an economic fallacy, but against a religious menace he warned them. Our own cardinals and bishops,

whom Almighty God has given to guide us in matters of religion and morals, have distinctly raised their voice against Socialism upon the same grounds. It is worse than folly to suppose that the entire hierarchy, who by natural learning, no less than by divine vocation are the reliable exponents of Catholic doctrine, should have been childishly mistaken in their verdict upon so important a question and in so patent a manner.

No less clear and determined has been the decision of our own Catholic laity. Whether speaking through the Federation of Catholic Societies, or the Councils of the Knights of Columbus, or the Militia of Christ, or the widespread Central Verein, they have but one word to say: that Socialism and Catholicism are forever irreconcilable. "Fight against Rome, fight against the Catholic Church, fight against any manifestation of Christianity," is the program of Socialism according to the official pronouncement of the Centre Party. The same cry is raised by Catholics throughout the entire world. Religiously no less than politically it is everywhere found by them to be a menace to the world.

Only a man wanting in all true Catholic instinct, or utterly misled by Socialist sophistries can fail to see his duty here. There is boundless opportunity for social propaganda everywhere within the Church; let Catholics who are sincere in their desire for the welfare of the workingman devote themselves to this course, by cooperation or leadership within Catholic organizations and in union with the divinely appointed authorities.

In a letter printed in a Socialist paper, reference was made to the seventeen reasons drawn up by Mr. Peter Collins, International Secretary of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to prove the statement that no man can be a loyal Catholic and a Socialist at the same time. The writer of the letter claimed that he had shown these reasons to one who was not a Socialist but who had frequently listened to Socialist orators. He looked over the list and laughingly said that only

one of the entire number was true, and that is that Socialism is opposed to the Catholic Church and small wonder! Mr. Collins himself offers the real solution to this typical objection which it is well to bear in mind. He says:

"Socialist leaders know the futility of their efforts to gain converts to Socialism by preaching from the Soap Box actual Socialist theories, embracing Materialism, Atheism, Opposition to Religion, God and Country. They find that as a necessary part of their propaganda, and as an aid to its success, they must preach from the Soap Box the Gospel of discontent; of class hatred; of condemnation of capital and of property, the purpose being to arouse discontent, enmity and envy in the hearts of the workers who gather around the Soap Box."

These last reasons would in themselves be all sufficient for an active propaganda of education carried on against Socialism. Yet the Soap Box orator merely begins the work. He is only meant to create a demand for that Socialist literature which is open to all the charges that have been made against Socialism. "The Socialist leader," say the *Common Cause,* "is like Paddy who drove his pig to Dublin by making him think he was going to Cork. If the average man knew where Socialism proposed to take him he couldn't be hired to vote the ticket."

But here we meet with a new difficulty which at first is most perplexing. Studying carefully their answers to the charges which we make against them, we shall find that often they do not repudiate the thing whereof they stand accused, but only the name which is applied to it.

We accuse them of violating the home. They would establish it, they tell us, upon the only true and reasonable foundation of perfect sex equality and independence, make of motherhood a remunerative profession, and secure for the child that education which it would be criminal to leave to the choice or religious bigotry of two chance persons, perhaps the least qualified for this task. The superstition instilled at home, if it is to be tolerated at all, must certainly be offset

by a sound secular training in schools under Socialist supervision.

We charge them with immorality. They would but destroy, they say, from the face of the earth that most monstrous form of immorality which the Catholic Church sanctions and enforces, the hypocritical union of man and woman when love has ceased to exist between them. How can one pronounce them guilty of instilling principles of vice when their whole life is spent in the heroic endeavor to sweep away all vice forever from the entire world by annihilating the only source of it, which is capitalism.

It is at the doors of the Church, Socialists proclaim, that the whole charge of the white slave traffic must be laid. It is the priest who, above all others, is responsible, by delaying the speedy coming of the Socialist commonwealth, when all these evils shall cease. It is nothing less than prostitution that he preaches from his pulpit every Sunday, Socialists continue, and well he knows it. For the refusal of all divorce and the defense of an order of society which drives woman into poverty and sin must necessarily have its result in the red light district of the city. The crime of race suicide, too, which is charged against Socialists, because enlightenment concerning the prevention of conception is often advocated in their literature, is attributed by them to the Church. Her alliance with Capitalism, they argue, sanctions those conditions which make the support of children impossible and cause them to perish by the millions because of the enforced labor of women immediately before and after the birth of their little ones. It is the Church that is guilty, it is the priest who is the criminal. But the day of reckoning is near at hand. Such sentiments are practically universal in Socialist literature.

And then to speak of Socialism as being irreligious! This is the final indignity. Is it not daily offering up all its life and strength and energy upon the altar of humanity? Its one object is, by the final destruction of Capital, to draw all mankind together in one brotherhood of workers who shall pos-

sess the earth. Hell, which is nothing but capitalism, shall then pass away; and heaven need no longer be sought in realms afar, since it shall exist in our midst. "In the sense of a new material order Jesus undoubtedly uses the common phrase, the kingdom of God, the kingdom of heaven," a Christian Socialist writes, merely repeating the doctrine of his school. "Your pastor will tell you that the parable of the rich man and Lazarus is designed to teach future punishment. Yet all the circumstances surrounding its narration and the story itself show that it was designed to show the immorality of being rich." (*A Christian View of Socialism, G. H. Stroebel.*)

In the new Socialist Commonwealth vice will cease to be, because the only incentives to sin, want and riches, shall have been taken away. Woman will no longer depend upon man for her support, since both shall be established in perfect equality of work and right, and love alone shall have its free, unhampered way. Concupiscence itself shall pass away, some claim, when the present pruderies of sex relationship have been abolished. This is to be the true millenium, the brotherhood of man, the new Jerusalem come to earth, the fulfillment of all that—if we may dare repeat such blasphemies—the "comrade Jesus" taught, who shall no longer be foolishly worshipped as a god, but shall be honored as the great Communist teacher of the world, together with "that modern Christ, Karl Marx." This, they exclaim, is religion pure and undefiled; yet Catholics will say that Socialism is irreligious! It is the crassness of the priestly intellect alone which can dictate such words. For it there is no religion except superstition. Writers of this stamp are the most virulent in declaiming against the dishonesty practised by the Catholic priesthood in denouncing Socialism.

That correctness in our statements is not sufficient, but that great tactfulness is likewise required is therefore evident. But there is another source of difficulties to which we can merely refer. Socialism is Protean, and changes, at least in its minor

issues, with the various leaders who propound it. More than this the old Marxian strictness is often greatly relaxed to win over a larger following. This is done to such an extent that it has called forth a special message from Eugene V. Debs, entitled "Danger Ahead." (*The International Socialist Review,* January, 1911.) The danger he fears is the disruption of the party by members not in harmony with it because gotten under false pretenses. "The truth is that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what methods the votes may be secured."

The final lesson we would impress in this part of our discussion is the need of duly qualifying our assertions. Indiscriminate remarks may often be unfair and do more harm than good. The main point is to show whither all Socialism is drifting certainly and unmistakably. Its final result is nothing less than the obliteration of the supernatural, leading thence to agnosticism and to the practical fulfillment of that materialistic philosophy which has inspired all its literature and is the motor power of the entire movement. All its members, evidently, have not progressed thus far, but all are upon the selfsame road.

IV

MANEUVERS OF SOCIALISM

I—CHICAGO PLATFORM OF 1908

THE frequently professed neutrality of the Socialist Party on the subject of religion is the one unfailing argument of Socialist agitators in dealing with the Catholic workingman. Especially useful for this purpose in the past has been a clause in the platform adopted by the National Convention assembled at Chicago, May 10, 1908. The resolution there drawn up was similar to that of the Erfurt program, and read: "The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

A consideration of the circumstances attending the adoption of this clause will afford a most valuable revelation of the spirit which animates the party, and of the ulterior motives which inspire its leaders. It will likewise help to dispel somewhat the deception still constantly practiced by them upon their unsuspecting victims.

The first recommendation laid before the meeting by the Committee on Platform was differently worded, namely: "That religion be treated as a private matter—a question of individual conscience." At the reading of this Mr. Arthur M. Lewis, Socialist author and lecturer, immediately arose and moved its rejection. "If we must speak," he said, "I propose that we shall go before this country with the truth, and not with a lie." He acknowledged, however, that honesty might not be the best campaign policy, and therefore preferred that nothing be said upon the matter. This was, at least, a negative truthfulness, and would, as one of the speakers later on expressed it, "let sleeping dogs lie."

Mr. Morris Hillquit, one of the most noted of American

Socialists, then took the floor and suavely suggested an amendment. It is the clause quoted by us in the first instance as the famous subterfuge of the Socialist agitators. That it was intended for this purpose Hillquit himself declared. Some answer, he argued, must be made ready for the Socialist orators when set upon the Soap Box to display their wares. If, then, they suddenly "are asked the question, 'Yes, but won't Socialism destroy religion?' they will answer, 'No, we don't agree on it.' I personally may not be religious, but Socialism has nothing to do with religion."

Ernest Untermann, Socialist translator and author, agreed with the speaker. He believed it was nonsensical to urge men to become atheists before they had become Socialists. His argument was that the former would readily enough follow the latter. "We must first get these men convinced of the rationality of our economic and political program, and then, after we have made Socialists of them . . . we can talk to them inside of our ranks . . . of the logical consequences of our explanation of society and nature." These consequences, as intimated, are materialism and atheism.

The meaning and purpose of the amendment was becoming more and more clear. Robert Hunter, Socialist politician and writer, and Victor Berger likewise approved of it. The latter believed that the American people as a nation are essentially religious, and that Socialism can make little progress if confined to atheists alone. On every hand the Socialist party was being denounced as opposed to religion, and therefore, he held, something must be done to show that it is an economic theory which has nothing to do with religion. What he meant is difficult to say, since his own practical idea of a Socialist campaign is to malign the Catholic Church and her representatives, showing thereby that there is one religion at least with which he believes that Socialism has a very great deal to do. That this was likewise the conviction of every single delegate in that assembly we have not the least reason for doubting.

Mr. Van der Porten, more bold and honest than others of the comrades, could not submit to the expressions of faint-heartedness and make-believe to which he had impatiently listened. "As long as we are too cowardly to express what we believe," he exclaimed, "we should be silent entirely." This had been the attitude of Lewis, who did not wish to go before the country with a lie. It may be noticed that these assertions are as strong as any which Catholic writers can possibly use in dealing with the delicate subject of Socialist veracity. Mr. Van der Porten then challenged the assembly: "Is there a man who will dare to say that religion is not a social question?" There was no one to take up the gauntlet. As a social question, moreover, they all knew that religion must be of interest in the most direct way to Socialism, as every Socialist author, wittingly or unwittingly demonstrates that it is. Legislation concerning the Church would be the first enactment of a triumphant Socialism, and Catholicism would be less respected in a Socialist commonwealth—if such a thing were possible—than it is to-day in Portugal.

"Let us say nothing," continued the delegate, "or say the truth. To spread forth to the world that religion is the individual's affair and that religion has no part in the subjection of the human race, we lie when we say it." To show how much this sentiment was appreciated the report here inserts the parenthesis ("Great applause").

Several other speakers were heard, and among them Mr. Strickland, a comrade from Indiana, whose argument was no less invincible: "If economic determinism be true, and if the moral and ethical principles of society be based ultimately upon the manner of economic production, how dare you then say that we have nothing to do with religion?" It would be denying even a modicum of intelligence to the delegates present there to intimate that the unquestionable truth of this argument was not perceived by them all; but the intention of a great number was not to pass sentence upon the truth or falsity of the amendment under consideration. They were

satisfied to overlook these and restrict themselves to the advisibility of inserting it for campaign and propaganda purposes. Yet even with this point alone kept in view by many of the delegates, the amendment declaring that the Socialist party "is not concerned with matters of religious belief" was carried by a majority of only one out of a total of 157 votes that were cast.

The objection is here made that this vote was not for or against religious neutrality, but to determine whether the original platform or its amendment should be accepted. We would not therefore lay our stress upon the vote itself—which in any case was merely a question of political expediency—but upon the nature of the debate and the evident sentiment of the vast majority of the Socialist delegates.

If we wish to obtain a perfect idea of the meaning of the clause under consideration as applied to the Catholic Church, we need but study the public utterances made upon other occasions by the gentlemen who defended its insertion into the party platform. Certainly one of the most enthusiastic of these was Mr. Berger. Yet in giving his candid conviction of the sentiment of the Socialist Party towards the Catholic Church he thus expresses himself:

"It is characteristic of the Roman Church that it keeps the masses in ignorance and bigotry and thus in submission to the ruling class. . . . The next Reformation would combine the spirit of the French Revolution with the new spirit of Socialism, which has never asserted itself so far. This is a warning to the Holy Catholic Church and the Militia of Beelzebub. . . . Between capitalist exploitation and Roman Catholic exploitation, we prefer the former, no matter how bitterly we must fight it." (*Social-Democratic Herald, August* 12, 1911).

Socialism was founded by Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel and all its great originators upon materialism and this in turn is grounded upon atheism, which is the worst and most debasing of all superstitions. It is only the fool who continues to say

in his heart what his reason daily denies. There are many superstitions in Socialism, but that of atheism or agnosticism is by far the most lamentable, and to this all Socialist philosophy must reduce itself, as all its leading exponents claim. However far the newly made Socialist may be from such conclusions he should note how all the footsteps converge towards this one abyss of death, spiritual and intellectual. Let him turn and flee before he shall fall a victim.

"At the present moment," says Joseph Leatham, whose knowledge of his own comrades is certainly not a very limited one, "I cannot remember a single instance of a person who is at one and the same time a really earnest and intelligent Socialist and an orthodox Christian Those who do not openly attack the Church and the fabric of Christianity show but scant respect to either the one or the other in private." (*Socialism and Character.*) The great influx of Protestant clergymen into the Socialist Party does not, as we shall later see, necessarily affect the implication contained in this statement as much as we might be led to expect. Yet their presence in the party is always held out to Catholics as an argument to prove that Socialism is not opposed to Christianity.

An excellent exposition of the circumstances attending the debate we have here described is given in an article by William J. O'Donnell, "The Inconsistency of Christian Socialism." (*The National Civic Federation Review, November* 15, 1909.) He thus concludes:

"Throughout the discussion there was a strong anti-Christian undercurrent of attack or innuendo, yet in the whole convention there was not a single voice raised in defense of what is to-day, and what has been for nineteen centuries, the most effective agency in the uplifting of man and the regeneration of society. There was none to confess Christ, but there were many who reviled Him. The voice of a Christian Socialist from Central Massachusetts was heard amid the confusion, but it was indistinguishable from the babel of sophistry, inconsistency and blatant shrieking that characterized the

whole discussion on the subject. That speaker announced that he was a Christian minister, but no one would ever have suspected it from his contribution to the discussion had he not volunteered the information. His timid, feverish and apologetic appeal to the convention to avoid all reference to religion is a striking illustration of the enervation of moral fibre that attacks those who succumb to Socialism.

"The adoption of the amendment . . . was a strategic move, designed as a clever device to conceal the real Socialist view on religion, and another of the manifest frauds by which the leaders of Socialism plan to foist their vicious system on the American people."

In the account of the meeting printed by the *Chicago Daily Socialist* Mr. Hillquit was accredited with having said during the course of the debate that ninety-nine per cent. of the Socialists are atheists or agnostics. When this statement later brought him into straits he simply disavowed it and referred for the correct words to the official report. This reads: "The fact that Comrade Lewis has, in the domain of religion, come to the position of an agnostic and that ninety-nine per cent. of us have landed in the same spot does not make Socialism agnostic."

If out of a hundred Catholics who join the Socialist party ninety-nine finally become agnostics, or virtually so—a fact we are willing to concede to Hillquit and the comrades—there is certainly every reason for saying that Socialism is concerned with religion. It is not, however, as Socialist writers argue, because of any profound science or truth contained in their literature that this is brought about, since in both it is most lamentably deficient. Too often Socialist authors have acquired merely that smattering of learning which prevents them from seeing their own ignorance and gives them a self-assurance which Solomon himself might have envied. "A little learning is a dangerous thing." Unfortunately, it proves itself so both for themselves and for all others. The truly great thinkers of the world have all been

religious in their beliefs; but this fact Socialists attribute to defective economic conditions or to capitalistic prepossessions.

The true reason for the loss of faith on the part of Catholics who affiliate themselves with Socialism is the fact that they have in that very act disregarded the authority of Christ and the Church by associating themselves with an organization which is begotten and reared in materialism, and which has never cleansed itself of this original sin; an organization whose first principle would demand the injustice of annulling private right to productive property, and whose entire method of warfare is essentially unChristian, promoting an universal discontent and the hatred of class against class over all the world. Nothing else is wanting now for the Catholics duped into accepting the party principle than the Socialistic explanation of "society and nature," as Untermann has well expressed it, to bring about in them the "logical consequences," agnosticism and atheism. Socialists will see that this explanation, duly seasoned with constant slander against the Church, is thrust at every opportunity upon their new converts.

De Tunzelmann correctly refers to Socialism as a superstition. "Superstition does not seek to test the guesses which it calls facts, and when it is driven to make the comparison and the guesses are disproved, superstition continues to call them facts, and denies and distorts the actual facts." It is in such "discarded rags of science" that Socialists dress up their fundamental doctrine of historic materialism or economic determinism.

II—OTHER SOCIALIST PLATFORMS

To "let sleeping dogs lie" was the policy of the Indianapolis Socialist Convention (1912) upon the question of religion. It certainly would not have been prudent, whatever was the reason of the political leaders, to have hazarded another discussion like that aroused by the insertion of the religious plank into the Chicago platform of 1908. Socialist

orators and journalists, nevertheless, can not evade this paramount issue, and therefore must still continue to harp upon the same old chords, that religion is a private matter and that Socialism is not concerned with it. A review of various Socialist platforms, together with authoritative interpretations of their tenets may therefore prove illuminating to Socialists themselves, who often are not acquainted with the more intimate purposes of their leaders. For to such unsuspecting voters the "platform" is presented as the be-all and end-all of Socialistic aspirations.

Planks pretending to religious neutrality are not unusual wherever the exigencies of politics demand them. We find them, for instance, in their customary wording in the Gotha and Erfurt programs; but fortunately they are here accompanied by a reliable explanation from the pen of the elder Liebknecht, one of the founders of German Socialism, to whom we can confidently have recourse.

"The Social Democracy as such has absolutely nothing to do with religion," he writes. "Every man has the right to think and believe what he will, and no one has a right to molest or limit another in his thoughts or beliefs, or to allow any one's opinions to be a disadvantage to him in any way. . . . Opinions and beliefs in themselves must be free, perfectly free. We as Social Democrats must respect them, and those Social Democrats who respect the genuineness and worth of their fellow-men will avoid scoffing at their beliefs." (*Socialism, p.* 57.)

This, to any one unacquainted with Socialist tactics, would sound like the proclamation of a magna charta of religious liberty for all the world. It is language we are likewise perfectly familiar with on this side of the Atlantic. For the information of those who are likely to be led astray by such declarations we quote the words which immediately follow and which express the intention of Socialism wherever it can attain to power.

"Above all, scoffing at a prejudice [such namely as religion]

is foolish and impolitic, since it but strengthens it. Only education can be of help here. But if it were our duty to state that we will not rob any one of his religion or hinder him in the exercise thereof, *we dare not offer the Church any handle by means of which it can come into the schools*, and therefore we say, 'Compulsory attention at public national schools, [which under Socialism would mean Socialistic schools]. Every child must be sent by its parents or relatives to these secular schools, in which no religion is taught, but by virtue of the fundamental statement that religion is a private matter, it remains to the parents themselves to teach their children, or allow them to be taught, in the religion which they choose. At first we thought to expressly state this in the platform, but we found that such a practical commentary did not belong there." (*Socialism, p.* 58.) The Catholic instruction in the home is, of course, to be annulled by the atheistic influence of the schools. Such is the express intention of this platform.

The freedom of Catholic education in Catholic schools, the fundamental principle of religious liberty, would be the first religious right which Socialism would destroy, if possible. Yet Liebknecht, like Socialists everywhere, in the face of this most out-spoken bigotry and intolerance, has the effrontery to complain of "the systematic calumny of our position in regard to religion." In every country Socialists have been the practical advocates of religious tyranny under the cloak of religious neutrality. "Compulsory, non-sectarian education" was likewise one of the planks in the platform of the Belgian Socialists for the destruction of the Catholic schools, and "Secularizing of the schools" is everywhere the watchword of Socialism, whether directly stated in its program or not.

These ideas are all much more boldly expressed in the platform drawn up at Dresden in 1903:

"No religious instruction of any kind shall be given to children under the age of sixteen; after that they can select their own religious tenets and teachings, as they please.

Superstitious religious notions, that are current among the less educated classes, are to be eradicated through proper instruction." This last slur, of course, is cast at the Catholic Church, which in Socialist literature is pictured as the personification of superstition and ignorance.

The same clear and uncompromising statements are made in the Tours Program:

"To organize the new world the Socialist Party needs free minds, emancipated from superstition and prejudices. It asks for and guarantees every human being, every individual, absolute freedom of thinking and writing and affirming their beliefs. Over against all religions, dogmas and churches, as well as over against the class conceptions of the bourgeoisie, it sets the unlimited right of free thought, the scientific conception of the universe and a system of public education based exclusively on science and reason." Hence, it insists upon "State monopoly of education at the three stages—elementary, secondary, and higher; as a means toward this, all members of the regular and secular clergy to be forbidden to open a school or teach in one." (Quoted in *Common Cause.*)

The platforms we have here mentioned are, according to Kautsky, only the logical expression of the Socialist tenet that religion is a private matter. "If religion is a private concern," he argues, "then the school is in consequence a purely secular institution. . . . To mix up instruction of the children with religious affairs would be a fundamental error. Therefore, the cooperation of ecclesiastical persons in the work of instruction is inadmissible." (*Cathrein, Socialism, p.* 64.)

"To permit," says the English Socialist, Belfort Bax, "by religious practices the cerebral deformation of children, is in reality a monstrous violation of liberty of conscience, which can only become effective under the proscription of what at present passes muster for religious liberty, the odious license in favor of some to the detriment of all. The vampire, bourgeois liberty of conscience, must in short be impaled, before

true liberty of conscience can become a healthy living reality." (*Religion of Socialism, pp.* 114, 115.)

More bold and open than many other Socialist aggregations, the Socialist Party of Great Britain has officially announced—what every classic authority upon Socialism has always held—that true Socialism without materialism and atheism is inconceivable. Socialism and religion, it declares, are contradictory terms; much more, therefore, Socialism and Christianity.

It has put forth these tenets in a pamphlet which, it positively affirms, "is issued, not as the view of an individual, but as the accepted manifesto of the Socialist Party on the subject." The reader will find that it describes the position of the Socialist agitator far more unequivocally than we have cared to express it. In its clear uncompromising statements the entire debate which was precipitated by the insertion of the religious clause into the Chicago platform is vividly brought to our minds.

"Is Socialism antagonistic to religion?" the pamphlet inquires, "Can a Socialist be a Christian? These questions are repeatedly being asked, and are being answered in many different ways. Yet Socialism has an unequivocal answer to them, and we purpose to make that plain. Unfortunately for the political trickster, however, that answer runs counter to popular prejudice—it will not win votes from those who are not Socialists—and therefore his tribe deprecate the free discussion of the implications of Socialism in regard to religion on the ground of 'Political expediency.' . . . Politicians angling for votes and office, and organizations scheming for members and subscriptions, have almost all evaded the charge that Socialism implies atheism and materialism, either by pretending that religion is in no way related to the question, or by asserting that Socialism is the outcome of religion, and is indeed, true Christianity." (*Socialism and Religion, pp.* 7, 8.)

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, makes no such compromises. It boldly declares with Marx, that "if re-

ligion exists it is because of a defective social organization"; that it is, as he declared it to be, "the opium of the people," which sooths into submission all their revolutionary aspirations; and that, finally, "the suppression of religion as the happiness of the people is the revendication of its real happiness." (*Marx, Critique de la Philosophie du Droit de Hegel, Devenir Social,* 1895, *p.* 502.) All religious teaching, it correctly argues, is directly opposed to scientific materialism (unscientific, it should be called) "which is an integral part of Socialist philosophy." And it finally thus summarizes its conclusion: "Our question is, therefore, answered. Socialism, both as a philosophy and as a form of society, is the antithesis of religion." (*Op. cit., p.* 48.)

The Italian Socialists of the United States have been no less clearly outspoken. Their national convention at Utica, N. Y., was thus reported in the *Call:* "Churches of all denominations were placed under the ban of the Italian Socialist Federation of the United States at the closing session tonight of its National Congress, which has been in session for the last three days in this city. Strongly worded resolutions, charging all churches with being against the 'emancipation of the working class, and for the protection and perpetuation of capitalism and moral and economic slavery,' were unanimously adopted amid vociferous applause. By the adoption of these resolutions all members of the Federation must 'sever their affiliation with any and all existing churches and religious organizations, and refrain from all religious practices and rites.'"

Socialist platforms, therefore, are often sufficiently clear upon the question of religion. Yet the claim that we are to seek in them, the full expression of the Socialist intentions in regard to the Church, is evidently absurd. They are political documents and confine themselves to issues of expediency, reserving the explanation of the complete Socialistic program to the opportune day and hour. The true aims of Socialism are not to be found in platforms, but in the Socialist literature

which is being constantly and carefully spread by the Socialist Party and which everywhere inculcates doctrines in opposition to religion and morality, such as can only by degrees and stealthily be instilled into the minds of the masses. The true propaganda of Socialism is not political, but educational, and this education, when finally completed, will have taught to the people through its classic exponents everything which to-day we hear alleged against Socialism by those who proclaim it to be the greatest menace of our day to religion and morality.

We conclude with a quotation from the platform of all Socialist platforms, the Communist Manifesto, drawn up by Marx and Engels, the abridgment of Socialism itself. Dealing with the subject of education, which we have singled out for our special consideration here, it says:

"Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty. But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations when we replace home education by social. And your education! Is it not also social, etc., etc.? . . . . The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

The Church is more sincerely opposed to the miseries of woman and child labor than Socialism ever can be. To realize the truth of this we need but study the social work of men like Ketteler and Windthorst, or read the Catholic Social Manifesto drawn up by Pope Leo XIII. But what Socialism desires, and what it will incessantly labor to obtain, is the complete control of education, to banish from the mind of the child even the last vestige of the idea of God, if this indeed were possible to any human agency. Individual Socialist voters may disclaim all such purposes, they can not; however, disclaim the responsibility before God.

V

THE TRAINING SCHOOLS OF REVOLUTION

THE instruction given by a Socialist Mayor to the younger generation of the city under his charge, that their government is founded upon oppression and that their study must be to prepare for revolution, properly enough aroused indignation, but should not have excited surprise. It is the only lesson which Socialism has come to teach. For the Marxian followers the entire social order under which we live is based upon ignorance, violence and injustice, and there can be no remedy except total destruction. "It is not to reform the evils of the day," Eugene V. Debs has told us in *The Growth of Socialism,* "but to abolish the social system which produces them, that the Socialist Party is founded. It is the party not of reform but of revolution." Truce there can never be, they cry, until the reins of power and the nation's destinies have been gathered into their hands, until they have swept away most of the "sweet ideals and dear moralities": the private ownership of capital and "patriotism—even patriotism."

It is clear then that the system of our public no less than of our private schools is pronounced by them to be entirely inadequate. In both Socialism beholds the same capitalistic bias, the same predetermined purpose to train obedient subjects for the service of the ruling classes, slaves for the plutocracy within our land. "The public school," Austin Lewis writes, "has come to be regarded as a factory of citizenship, so that children are put through a series of patriotic devotions by means of flag worship, which is, in the ultimate, the blindest of fetichisms." Patriotism, which is the cardinal virtue of these schools, a virtue more deeply though less ostentatiously instilled into the mind of the Catholic child, is written by Socialists at the head of their catalogue of vices. In his public

harangues the party orator may conceal his meaning in effusive rhetoric, but he is plain-spoken when addressing the initiated. "Patriotism," says Comrade Gustave Hervé in *My Country, Right or Wrong,* "in every nation masks the class antagonism to the great profit of the leading classes, through it they prolong and facilitate their domination;" and to strengthen his position he informs us what a country is: "a monstrous social inequality, the shameful exploitation of a nation by a privileged class." Socialism acknowledges no country but only one universal struggle all the world over of class against class, of poor against rich, which must be waged even to annihilation. "The workingmen have no country," reads the Communist Manifesto, "we cannot take away from them what they have not got." Therefore the watchword to be remembered, especially in times of national danger: "Whoever be the aggressor, rather insurrection than war!" (*Gustave Hervé.*)

It is evident that Socialism must construct its own schools in which the new ideal of education can be attained, in which Patriotism and Love of Country can be discarded as effectively as Religion has already been. It is after all but another step in the materialistic progress of our age. It is only logic pushed to its ultimate deductions with God left out in the premises. The beginning of this new education has now been realized in the Socialist schools and colleges. The founders of such institutions, believed "that in a progressive state of society morals must be those of free men and women, whose standards could not be those of a slave class, devised by slaves, called by them 'morals,' and elevated to the position of a religion."

In the meanwhile Socialism is trying to wedge itself into the Public School system. For this purpose it is everywhere fighting a life and death struggle to obtain control of educational boards. It is composing its histories and text books and poisoning all the wells of knowledge with its class-hatred and materialism, while no efforts are spared to carry on its

propaganda among the teachers of non-Catholic schools, colleges and universities.

Looking over the first lesson of a model Socialist Sunday School course as printed in the *Call,* we meet at the very opening with a familiar subject, a chapter "On the Beginning of Things." There is, however, no disturbing reference made to a God or a Creator. Stating in a word the existence of material things, the author enters upon a minutely accurate description of our earliest human progenitors as they existed not more than thirty millions of years ago. The distinction between them and their less developed brethren of the forest is sufficiently established by the fact that they learned the use of fire. No antiquated theories of a spiritual principle in man are allowed to prepossess the mind of the child, no visionary dreams of a hereafter are permitted to rob it of its assured present. There is, of course, nothing new in these lessons. They are scientific as they are edifying and have been taught for years past in countless schools throughout the land. The originality of Socialism consists in making them matter for Sunday instruction and, especially, in pointing out the vast superiority of social and ethical conditions in that golden age of cave-man and forest-man, as compared with those of our own iron reign of sex inequality and class oppression. Sociology, history and science, as seen through a haze of red, are the favorite branches of these schools, and their object is to instil into the heart of the child a brotherly affection which shall exclude none of its own class, and a happy discontent with the entire order of existing things—Socialism alone excepted.

To furnish an object lesson of the attitude assumed by these schools towards Christianity we shall select what cannot fail to be most typical of their spirit and method, the instruction assigned as a preparation for that day of days in the children's calendar, the Christmas festival. "The Feast of the Sun" is chosen as the most appropriate subject of study for this season. It is inconceivable," the learned board carefully

cautions its teachers, "that we should retain any of the religious features of this time. Nevertheless we should substitute something having content that we wish to take its place. A lesson on Light is therefore selected as perfectly answering the purpose. We know what countless myths of oriental, classical and Indian mythology are said to be accounted for by the symbolism of light, and why—such is the implied suggestion—should not the same explanation satisfy as well for the great central myth of Christianity? Great insistence is therefore given to the recommendation that the lesson preparatory for the Christmas celebration "in all classes be devoted to the subject of 'Light,' in the interpretation of the feast of the winter solstice, or the universal reason for the celebration of Christmas" (*The Call, November* 27, 1910).

So, with one stroke of the pen, Christianity is cancelled from the mind of the child, and the sweetest joy of all the year is plucked remorselessly from out its heart. By a single flourish, without recourse to history or argument, the festival of Christmas has been metamorphosed into the feast of the winter solstice. The story runneth thus: The people in the olden days saw the sun receding from them, and feared it would never return again. The land would remain barren, the waters would freeze to their depths and all life would perish from the face of the earth. But lo! suddenly the sun retraced its path, light and warmth came back and trees burst anew into bud and blossom. In joy at their delivery these wise cave men instituted a festival just at the time which we know as the Christmas holidays. Here, therefore, we are at last presented with the scientific fact which has been poetically expanded into the myth of a God of Light born upon a winter's night. Such is the Christmas lesson instilled into the simple, trusting heart of childhood on Christmas day in a Christian country.

Should the teacher, however, be somewhat shocked, or, what is far more likely, should she not fully understand what is contained in the outline given into her hand or what is im-

plied therein, the board is ready with a motive and an explanation: "We should ever bear in mind that we must do a certain amount of destructive work preparatory to the building for new ethical and industrial teaching." Properly to indoctrinate the teacher, the *Call,* the oracle and militant champion of these Sunday Schools, suggests four books for special study and meditation. It will suffice here to make reference to two of these volumes.

The first is Kautsky's *Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History.* The author is one of the foremost authorities among the Socialists of our day, the greatest living spokesman of German Social Democracy and a fit instructor for the future teacher in the new morality of rationalism. Ethical principles are always greatly insisted upon by Socialists, but especially so in their Sunday Schools. It is upon its morals that Socialism prides itself. Here, then, are the essentials of that code which is to replace the tablets of the law, once given upon Sinai, but now made obsolete in a more enlightened age.

Kautsky, in the volume recommended, tells us that "neither as a thinking nor a moral being is man essentially different from animals" (*page* 119). He is, however, by nature a *social* animal, and it is this distinctive feature which constitutes the reason for his progress under the laws of evolution. Because of this it became possible that the discoveries made by some primitive Marx or Kant or Aristotle, inhabiting the trees of a primeval forest, could be transmitted to "his herd" and so come down to us perfected and refined through all the cycle of the ages. Our morals, as we would therefore expect, depend entirely upon our social and economic conditions and "the moral codes are simply conventional fashions" (*p.* 192). Since all morality is relative, "that which is called immorality is simply a deviating kind of morality" (*p.* 192). So, to give an example, "the same phenomenon, say of free sexual intercourse or of indifference to property, can in one case be the product of moral depravity, in a society where a strict mon-

ogamy and the sanctity of property are recognized as necessary; in another case it can be the highly moral product of a healthy social organism which requires for its social needs neither property in a particular woman, nor that particular means of consumption and production" (*p.* 193.)

What, then, in the present economic condition of society, is the moral law which we are to observe? It is something entirely negative and far more easily remembered and put into practice than the decalogue. "The moral ideal is revealed in its purely negative character as an opposition to existing moral order, and its importance is recognized as the motor power of the class struggle, as a means to collect and inspire the forces of the revolutionary classes" (*p.* 200). In brief, "the moral ideal is nothing else than the complex of wishes and endeavors which are called forth by the opposition to the existing state of affairs" (*p.* 199). Destruction, arson, violence, murder, when practiced in opposition to the existing moral order and the existing state of affairs, would therefore logically be exalted into the galaxy of virtues, and the wretch taken red-handed in his criminal act would be changed into a moral hero, a superman, one whose memory, like that of Ferrer, the Spanish degenerates and Haymarket rioters, is to be embalmed and perpetuated for all future generations. What sweet anticipations may we not entertain for the coming years, when lessons which lead to such conclusions are openly taught to-day in American schools to American children.

The reader will here naturally call to mind the resolution of the Indianapolis convention against violence, crime and sabotage. If, however, he had read the debates upon this subject carried on in the Socialist daily press, he would have clearly perceived that these acts, directed against the existing order, are not condemned because of any immorality, in the Christian sense of the word, but because of inexpediency. Since they would inevitably thwart the ambitions of Socialist politicians and materially injure the prospects of the cause, they are looked upon as in reality confirming the existing

order, and therefore immoral in a truly Socialistic sense, as expounded by Kautsky.

It is not difficult to perceive how short-lived a reign of order and law must be which depends for its security upon such ethics and to what fearful catastrophies it must finally lead. Human passions will not long be held in check by such feeble bonds of straw.

The second volume, to which we need only refer, is Engel's *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.* This author, the co-laborer and literary executor of Marx, with whom he stands upon the same bad eminence, thus summarily dismisses all question of religion with a single statement: "Nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the Universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler" (*Introd., page iv*). For the new teacher of the Sunday School class his authority is supreme and his statement is likely to be taken as final and decisive in spite of her own better knowledge. And yet we find that appeal to Deity is not utterly unknown in at least one Socialist school. We shall quote an invocation printed by the Socialist Sunday School of Rochester, N. Y., entitled "A Socialist Prayer." Adapted indifferently to Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or Buddhist, it at least contains an acknowledgement of a Sovereign Providence:

"O God of Life and Light," begins the supplication, "we yearn to be nobler, kinder, more genuine, more complete. We are hungry; fill us with knowledge and wisdom. We are thirsty; give us to drink deep draughts from the wells of justice. We are weak; make us strong to help in the sacred war of manhood and civilization against tyranny, inhumanity, exploitation and greed." The need of repentance, of humiliation for personal sin, of hope in an hereafter are carefully ignored. As the prayer continues we find only an universal discontent, and in place of a love and yearning for the Kingdom of God and His glory there is only an angry cry for the speedy coming of the day of the Great Revolution: "Permeate our souls with divine, discordant and righteous re-

bellion," the little hearts are taught to pray. Strengthen within us the spirit of revolt, and may we continue to favor that which is fair and rise in anger against the wrong, until the Great Revolution shall come to free men and women from their fetters and enable them to be good and kind and noble and human!"

Even such a prayer, however, which has nothing in common with Christianity, is merely an anomaly. It is nevertheless turned to good advantage when there is question of gaining votes. A more characteristic expression of Socialist Sunday School teaching is that contained in "The Little Catechism" published for the Bohemian-American Socialistic and anarchistic schools. Excerpts of it in an English translation have been published by the New York City Mission and Tract Society and in the *Common Cause* (*May*, 1912). Much of the matter, as the latter rightly says, is too blasphemous and suggestive to reprint. We give only a brief extract.

Q. How did man originate?

A. Just as did all animals; by evolution from their lower kinds.

Q. Has man an immortal soul as Christianity teaches?

A. Man has no soul; it is only an imagination.

Q. Who is Jesus Christ?

A. Jesus Christ was the son of a Jewish girl called Mary.

Q. Is he the son of God?

A. There is no God, and therefore there can be no God's son.

Q. Is there communion of saints?

A. No, because there is no God, no saints, no soul, and therefore our prayers are wholly useless, and only a waste of time, which should be spent in more sensible things.

Q. What is our duty when we learn that there is no God?

A. We should teach this knowledge to others.

Q. Do we owe a duty to God?

A. There is no God, and therefore we owe Him no duty.

Q. Should we take the name of God in vain?

A. Yes; because the name of God has no meaning.

Q. Is adultery a sin?

A. It is not a sin. (The remaining portion of this last answer we do not wish to reproduce.)

Socialist Sunday Schools exist not merely in the United States and in the great European countries, but in remote sections of the world like Africa and Australia. Everywhere they are animated by the same spirit. Upon a banner carried in a procession of Socialist school children in England was inscribed the motto: "There is no God!" and in the *Red Catechism,* by Halzell, besides the doctrine of class hatred, the lesson is likewise inculcated into the minds of the little ones to "aspire to the possessions of their neighbors." Their song is the "Internationale."

"We want no Saviour here below,
We place no trust in Lord or Peer;
Our own right hand will clearly show
Us all sufficient here."

Such details are given by Mary Butler in her article written as a warning to Ireland. "The smallest children," she says, "are taken at the schools in the kindergarten division. The course of studies, which is continued from the ages of seven to fifteen, is absolutely materialistic and atheistic. Darwin's *Descent of Man* is put into the hands of small girls and boys. A book called *Before Adam,* by Jack London, is also given them, which teaches: 'Man is but an animal, the highest of mammals; therefore his sensual cravings and desires may be fully satisfied; nor is there any reason why, in satisfying them, he should be subject to any higher law of self-denial and self-discipline.' No doctrine can be so antagonistic to the characteristic Gaelic mind as that of self-indulgence. . . . One of the books on the curriculum of the Socialist Sunday School is called *Love's Coming of Age.* One of the chapters

in it is entitled: *The Sex Passion.* It is nauseating to think of children being given such subjects to discuss. In the course for girls from seven to eighteen is included Bebel's work on *Woman,* which openly preaches the grossest immorality. This work has an enormous sale in England." (*Irish Rosary, January,* 1912.)

Attending a Socialist school of whatever kind and listening to the lecturer we would hear an instruction which can be summarized in somewhat the following words.

"The reason of all existing injustice in society, as you have often heard, is Capitalism. Mankind at the present day is divided into two classes: slaves, who are violently kept in subjection and ignorance; and masters, who are bloated with wealth which they extort from the down-trodden and exploited laborers. There are two powers in the world which make possible the existing conditions, the Church and the Government. The Church is a conspiracy of the priesthood to keep the slaves in contentment with their chains and to intimidate the rebellious with threats of eternal punishment. It is, in short, a vampire sucking the life blood of the workingman and fattening upon it. The other influence of evil, the body-guard of Capitalism, is the established Government, with its capitalistic institutions instilling capitalistic principles of morality and supportng them wth a mail-clad hand. Its janizaries are the navy and the army and the club-wielding police. What constitutes the comedy in the midst of all this dire tragedy is the fact that the victims themselves pay their oppressors in taxes of every kind for keeping them in submission by periodical administrations of salutary cudgelings; these latter to be dealt out most liberally during times of strike."

In this instruction is gathered together the substance of Socialistic teaching in the press as well as in the school, aside from its constantly recurring attacks upon the very essentials of religion and morality. There will be no need therefore of calling special attention to the many Socialist schools of

higher education or to the Intercollegiate Socialist Societies whose chapters exist in countless non-Catholic colleges and universities and are often patronized by teachers and authorities. The universal aim of all is rationalism and materialism together with revolutionary agitation.

We have developed this subject at more than usual length for the simple reason that in the Socialist school we have a right to look for the most perfect expression of Socialist doctrine. We have found it to be materialism and atheism no less than the declaration of a new morality. Socialist Sunday schools conducted by clergymen likewise exist, as we are aware; but these, as we shall see in the chapter on "Christian Socialism," can not redeem the Socialist movement, but confirm more absolutely and hopelessly the sentence which must be pronounced upon it by every orthodox Christian. The final judgment has been uttered by the atheist Socialist author, John Spargo, in his criticism upon a book by the leading exponent of Christian Socialist thought:

"One gathers from Professor Rauchenbusch a concept of Christianity which would justify most men who now call themselves Atheists and Agnostics being included in the category of Christians. Theological Christianity is dead!" Within the Socialist school it certainly is (*International Socialist Review, February,* 1908.)

In connection with Socialist higher education we may remark that the most prominent of the Socialist leaders in the past and present belong to the class of "Intellectuals." Marx and Lasalle themselves were of this number. Liebknecht in Germany, Ferri in Italy, Vandervelde in Belgium, Jaurès in France and a long list of American writers and party leaders are to be counted among this same class. They are said to belong to the proletariat in as far as they do not own the means of their employment. All university professors can be embraced in this term.

"If Socialism is limited to the wage-earners," Jaurès writes, it cannot conquer. If it includes all the workers and the moral

and intellectual élite of the nation, its victory is certain." (*Studies in Socialism.*)

What strikes us most forcibly in this connection is the ardor and zeal with which this work of perversion, calumny and lawlessness is carried on. Indeed, there is nothing which should prick on a generous soul to more active efforts in the great cause of the salvation of souls than the sacrifice and devotion we witness in the mighty enterprise undertaken for their undoing. "Elisée Reclus," writes Aristide Pratelle of the man on whom Ferrer modeled his own life, "dear to our hearts among the dearest ones, was most careful to advise those who felt themselves wealthy in strength or talent, knowledge or intelligence, not to be foolishly prodigal of their riches. There is such a quantity of good work to be done in this brief life of ours. There are so many doings of interset, so many grand undertakings which claim the contribution of our brain and our hearts." What more perfect exhortation could be placed upon the lips of even him who would fire with zeal the hearts of God's anointed clergy or His chosen religious; and yet it is all in the sole cause of the first false teacher who taught from the tree of knowledge in Paradise, and the lesson is ever the same. "Your eyes shall be opened: and you shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."

So at length we behold, more truly than the poet saw in dream, the raven perched upon the bust of Pallas.

"And the lamp-light o'er him streaming casts his shadow on the floor." It is the forecast of all that Socialism so confidently predicts, and whose realization, whether we fear it or not, we must labor to prevent. Our lethargy would be its strength. Socialism has inexhaustible resources of enthusiasm and energy. We have summed up but a portion of its work in the educational field, and doubtlessly we shall soon witness its efforts to introduce Socialistic text-books, openly or by stealth, into our public institutions. Yet, Socialism, with all its hatred of the Church, may not be without blessings to us in the Providence of God. If it can but arouse in us a spirit

of equal aggressiveness, a more profound sense of our social responsibilities, an eager zeal for organization, press-activity and apostolic work of every kind, it shall have done us a worthy service. This is the use we must endeavor to make of it, for vainly as the poet shall we now conjure it with empty words:

"Get thee back into the tempest and the Night's
Plutonian shore!"

VI

REVISIONISM

WHEN the enormous vote of four and a half million was polled by the Socialist Party in Germany during the elections of 1912 it naturally perplexed the American mind. Editors and correspondents in vain cudgled their brains to find an explanation. According to some, German Socialism had been drifting from its moorings and had broken with all its Marxian traditions. It was little more at present than a social reform party. According to others, even more bold and positive, it was only "a movement towards what in this country would be esteemed a somewhat conservative type of democracy." (New York *Tribune.*) American Socialists, on the contrary, in their New York organ, the *Call,* indignantly rejected all such interpretations as capitalistic falsehoods and insisted upon the red, revolutionary character of German Social-Democracy.

"Five years ago," the *Call* then wrote, "the apparent loss of seats to the Socialists, permitted the capitalist press, both here and in Europe, to rejoice in a sham victory. Socialism, red, revolutionary Socialism, was defeated, and the destroyers of civilization and society had at last been checked. Now that the apparent defeat is far more than retrieved and an additional million added to the visible army of international revolution, the same press explains in whimpering, lying editorial comments, the 'conservative' character of the victors. We can afford them that miserable solace. . . . We rejoice in the victory of our German Comrades, for it is our victory, too. They have carried the red flag of the social revolution nearer to the intrenchments of the enemy, and planted it solidly, until the next advance is due." (*January* 14, 1912.)

About this same time a report was laid before the American

Federation of Labor by its representative to the convention of National Trade Centres, held at Budapest. The framer of the document had, unfortunately, trusted implicitly in the statements made to him by the German Socialists and so was led by them into various regrettable errors. Speaking, however, of the nature of the German Socialist Party, he said:

"When one discusses our system of government to European officials as compared with theirs, the latter immediately say, 'that is Socialism.' In short, while the European Socialists may have much more in mind than is now evident in their militant campaigns, viewed with an American eye their purpose would not lose in comparison, in practice even, if it were labelled European democracy." If the Socialist government is to be established by revolution he hoped it would be a revolution such as was our own, "which laid the foundation for the best system of popular government that has so far stood the test of time and practice."

That this hope must prove vain is evident from the fact that the American Constitution is the abomination of American Socialists and would never be tolerated by their German brethren. It was drawn up, says the *Coming Nation,* at a time "when most men believed that the sky was a solid blue roof about a mile off, and the stars were the holes in the roof that let in light from the great white throne." (*January* 27, 1912.) Since then Socialism has come to teach mankind that there is neither a blue roof nor a great white throne, nor the mystery of an invisible, infinite God, Whom the Sacred Books describe in human ways to human minds.

The difference between a democracy founded by the "ignorant" signers of the Declaration of Independence, as the Socialist paper calls them, and one established by those who have grown so wise that they have learned to reason God Himself out of His creation, or at least deny His right to be considered in the Constitution of their State, is precisely the difference between our own republic and the Socialist Commonwealth. This may be very conservative for advanced

rationalistic thinkers; but it is radical and revolutionary to the mind of men who still hold faith in the divinity of a crucified Redeemer. "In God we trust" was the motto of those early fathers. "In ourselves alone we trust" would replace it upon the labor check of the Socialist State.

One of the most accurate descriptions of the present stage of development reached by the Socialist Party in Germany, and yet, for those unacquainted with the existing conditions, a most deceptive summary, is that which appeared in a letter to the *Globe,* under date of January 24. The correspondent, Adam Rosenberg, wrote:

"The 'revisionists' within the German Social-Democratic party, led by Bernstein, have been and are slowly but surely growing in the ascendancy. These latter have totally discarded the ultra-radical and revolutionary Marxist notions, to which the other element within the party still adhere 'officially.' Their chief aim is to promote what they believe to be the present peaceful evolution of the socialistic State to come, through parliamentary activity and legislative social reform. The recent Socialist election successes in Germany are, no doubt, mainly due to the agitation of this safe and sound wing of German social democracy, aided and seconded, as it is, by the German trade unionists."

It is undeniably true that revisionism, as here described, has during the past few years made vast gains in the ranks of German Social Democracy, and that evolutionary Socialism, as contrasted with the more radical revolutionary form, is constantly winning new adherents from among the industrial trades unionists. But while this question of revisionism or radicalism, of evolutionist or revolutionist is causing a great pother overhead among the leaders of Social Democracy, it still leaves the final object of Socialism practically unchanged. The difference is merely that between a wasting consumption and a sudden death. It is a question of more or less delay, of greater or less violence. All alike agree with Marx in the ultimate purpose of the Socialistic Commonwealth, no matter

what minor family troubles there may be. How, under what circumstances and by what means is the common end to be compassed? This alone is the question under dispute.

Revisionism admits more freely of measures of social reform, while Marxian Socialism pure and simple looks for a constantly increasing tension in social conditions, until the strain is heightened beyond all endurance and the end shall come suddenly, as Marx describes it, like the bursting of an integument. All attempts to relieve the sufferings of the poor, or to remedy the conditions of labor can only delay this great event by relaxing for a time the stress upon the social system. Hence the hatred of Socialists against the religious orders within the Church, who minister to the sick and the unfortunate.

It is evident, therefore, that the spirit which animates both these factions of the Socialist Party, whether in Germany or elsewhere, is identical, and has sprung from the self-same Marxian traditions and materialistic philosophy. Revisionism somewhat modifies the Marxian evolution theory of society, but leaves its materialism unaffected. Cardinal Fischer, of Cologne, did not exaggerate the situation when, in view of the Socialist successes, he raised that cry of warning heard in the ancient days of Rome when civic dangers threatened, and the safety of the State itself was tottering: *"Videant Consules!"*

That Socialism in Germany is at least as intensely antagonistic to revealed religion, as it is elsewhere over the entire world, is evident from all its literature. The same contention is made as in our own country, that religion is to be considered a private matter, while the Socialist press continues uninterruptedly its attacks upon it, and especially upon that Church of Christ, which it slanders and reviles with a truly Satanic hatred. We know of what rationalistic stamp all its leaders are. Its first object is to take from the parent the right of educating the child in a Catholic school. Nothing is more strongly emphasized than this, even in the Erfurt

Program. This means, in plain words, the abolition of religious liberty.

In regard to the family its attitude is no less undisguised. The greatest facility of divorce has here, as everywhere, been the aim of Socialism, showing how the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage tie is utterly ignored by it. Monogamy is for it merely an economic development, and the right of promiscuous intercourse, if not desired, is at least not denied. This is sufficient to place it entirely beyond the pale of all truly Christian society. In his standard work on school reform under Socialism, approved by the German party, Henry Schulz informs us that the transmission of productive property through inheritance became possible only "by the subjugation of women in monogamous marriage." (*Die Schulreform der Sozialdemokratie, p.* 123.)

In the *Sozialistische Monatshefte,* a review founded by the "conservative" revisionists, we meet with the proposal of a general mother's insurance, to which both sexes, it is suggested, should be obliged to contribute a "child rent," while the commonwealth is to supply all deficits. Its object is that mother and father can freely mate with other comers, and yet the child be safely provided for. "In fact," says the writer, "the child rent seems to me the only way of solving the otherwise insuperable difficulty of the conflict between free love and the existence of the child, and it will solve this in *a thoroughly Socialist way.*" (1911, 1382). That such matters can be freely discussed in almost any Socialist family paper in Germany, as in our own country, is again sufficient to show how utterly incompatible with Christian civilization Socialism is, even when heralded throughout the land as a sane and safe revisionism.

That not all who have voted the Socialist ticket have accepted such views is evident. That very many have merely sought for social reforms is likewise clear. These considerations must always and in every country make the figures that record the successes of Socialism somewhat problematic. But

what the party itself desires, whether or not expressed in its platform, and what the spirit is which animates its leaders must be determined from Socialist literature and Socialist activities. These speak plainly that Revisionism is no less bitterly opposed to the Church and all true Christianity than other phases of Socialism. That large portions of the Protestant population have accepted it, rather than the Christian labor reforms of the Centre, only shows, as other facts make clear, how far Protestantism in many parts of the world has drifted from its Scripture moorings, leaving once more the Catholic Church the sole defender of an inspired Bible and a divine Redeemer of mankind.

In dealing with Socialism our own American press has too frequently helped to blind the eyes of its readers to the inner nature of this movement, and the so-called Revisionism has often met with its most hearty approval. Socialist writers are using its pages for their propaganda, proposing seemingly innocuous social reforms and glossing over all inherent dangers. The press, in a word, has in countless instances, either not had the courage to speak out boldly and unequivocally, or else has openly sympathized with rationalism and materialism, no less than with many of their logical consequences. If so, it is sowing the storm, and can only expect to reap the whirlwind.

VII

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

ECONOMIC Determinism is the fundamental tenet of Socialist philosophy. Of the many names under which this theory is known we have chosen the least objectionable. In purely Socialistic literature it is more commonly spoken of as Economic Materialism, Historic Materialism, or the Materialistic Conception of History.

"Materialistic," says the American Socialist author, Arthur M. Lewis, is objected to by some "because it tends to link the Socialist philosophy with scientific materialism. There are several schools of materialism and toward most of these the Socialist attitude is critical, but it must be conceded that Socialism carried to anything like a logical conculsion is thoroughly materialistic." (*Vital Problems in Social Evolution, p.* 11.) Socialists, however, in addressing themselves to the Catholic worker are no less cautious in the name which they assign to this doctrine than in the exposition which they give of it.

In the preface to the *Communist Manifesto* we find the authoritative definition of this theory, which we may call the "principle and foundation" of Socialism. That document itself is the text of which all Socialist literature is the more or less faithful development. Engels, the colaborer of Marx, thus introduces us to this work:

"The *Manifesto* being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that this fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

The "social organization," which is here, as well as in every subsequent Socialist work, said to follow at least primarily from the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, includes not merely the political and industrial establishments of any country, but likewise its religious institutions. No Socialist author of consequence would call this into question, and every practical application of Historic Materialism is an illustration of it. "History has been explained by religion long enough," says the founder of modern Socialism, "let us explain religion by history." This, in briefest compass, is the meaning of Economic Determinism or the Materialistic Conception of History seen from its religious side.

The method followed in thus interpreting history can be perfectly exemplified in the following summary taken from an official pronouncement of the Socialist Party of Great Britain:

"Religion was neither the invention of priests nor a revelation from a god, but had a secular origin in savage fear and inexperience. It was the emotional reflex of primitive social life, and its successive modifications have been the result of material change. In gentile or tribal society religion had a useful rôle; it helped to strengthen social bonds and gave greater cohesion to the groups of kindred. But with the disruption of patriarchal institutions its rôle became political; it became an instrument of class domination. Throughout political history it has served as a powerful weapon of tyranny and as the anæsthetic of the oppressed. It now crumbles tardily away, in spite of the frantic efforts of the priestly cult at adaptation or restoration; and its waning influence is due to that growth of knowledge and the development of natural science, which have been made possible by economic evolution." (*Socialism and Religion, p.* 47.)

To summarize still more briefly the conclusions of Historic Materialism, we find them completely expressed in the familiar Socialist saying that, "God has not made man, but man has made god." In his *Critique of Political Economy* Marx clearly formulates the same thought when he writes, "It is very easy

to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion." All this is no less plainly contained in the *Communist Manifesto:*

"When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society they do but speak the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps ever pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence. When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie."

So all history, secular and religious, is explained as a series of economic class struggles between exploiting and exploited, while the Catholic Church is described as the strongest ally of the former. All religion is made dependent upon "economic conditions" of existence, and in its present meaning is fated to disappear, according to the laws of Economic Determinism, when rational relations shall have been established between man and man:

"The religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of every-day life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellow men and to nature.

"The life process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan." (*Capital, I, "Commodities."*)

Such from its religious side is the Materialistic Conception of History. The religion in which Socialism prides itself is a pure humanitarianism or scientific monism. From this Christ, modified according to Socialistic prepossessions and stripped of His divinity, is not necessarily excluded. Yet Economic Determinism can admit of no divine Redeemer. The mission of Christ must be explained as the result of material condi-

tions, and the redemption of mankind is practically impossible, even in the teaching of Christian Socialists, except according to the laws defined by the Historic Materialism.

To avoid all Socialist objections we can here readily grant that other than purely economic factors are likewise admitted by this theory. Their influence, however, is generally considered to be comparatively so slight that Socialist economists hold they may "be left out of account when outlining the general scheme of the evolution of society." (*Boudin.*)

Christian Socialists, while admitting unconditionally the theory of Historic Materialism, take their refuge in the existence of these secondary factors. Some even seek to find in Economic Determinism a divine Providence working through the medium of Marxian historic evolution. This is neither fish nor flesh, neither scientific Marxism nor Christianity.

How utterly incompatible with Catholicity this doctrine is requires no demonstration. The fact that it admits of no principles that are eternally true, irrespective of time and place; no infallible, unchanging creed, such as we find realized in the Catholic faith, is sufficient evidence to condemn it. "These ideas, these categories," says Marx, "are not more eternal than the relations which they express. They are historical and transitory products." All ideas, according to this Historic Materialism, "whether political, moral, religious or otherwise . . . cease to prevail, and are gradually discarded, when the economic conditions in which they had their inception undergo a change." (*Boudin, Theoretical System of Karl Marx, p.* 27.)

To prove the fallacy of the entire theory in question we need indeed no other argument than the very existence of the Catholic Church herself. During all the many and various economic changes which have passed over the face of the earth, since the day when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles, to remain with His Church forever, according to the unfailing promise of Christ, she has remained unchanged in every jot and tittle of her doctrine. All that was believed by the first Christians at the close of the apostolic age is believed by the

faithful to-day, without alteration or addition. While the discipline of the Church was ever kindly adapted to the circumstances of every age, her principles of faith and of morality have ever been unchangingly the same amid all the changes of economic conditions. Historic Materialism, like every other heresy and error, is wrecked upon the rock of Peter.

The hatred, therefore, with which Socialism pursues the Catholic Church is no less deep and lasting than the very nature and existence of Socialism itself. Those who believe that this new foe to Christ and His religion can be soothed by compromise or silence understand but little the causes which in every country have instinctively centred all its attacks upon the Church and have persistently united all its forces for her destruction.

To show the ultimate, recognized and only logical deduction of the fundamental Socialist doctrine we offer one more quotation, which could easily be paralleled with countless others. Robert Rives La Monte, a well known Socialist authority, applying the principle of Economic Determinism, thus formulates its conclusions in a passage which was accepted as a Socialistic motto by the *International Socialist Review:*

"The Marxist absolutely denies the freedom of the will. Every human action is inevitable. 'Nothing happens by chance.' Everything is because it cannot but be. How, then, can we consistently praise or blame any conduct? If one cares to make hair-splitting distinction, it may be replied that we can not, but none the less we can rejoice at some actions and deplore others." (*Socialism, Positive and Negative.*)

In one word, therefore, Socialism, in spite of all denials on the part of its adherents, is only another form of Fatalism.

Socialist agitators, however, in presenting to the Catholic worker their theory of Economic Determinism, seek to leave him blissfully under the impression that nothing more is implied in this doctrine than the obvious fact, which no one will gainsay, that human beings are largely dependent upon material environments. The Church, therefore, in her opposition

to Economic Determinism, is represented in the favorite Socialist way as the mother of ignorance and a synonym for blind intolerance. If, on the contrary, we examine into the truth of this contention, we find that Catholic economists are prepared fully to admit the great influence of economic as well as of other material conditions upon human development. They only reject all Socialistic extravagance and deny that material influences can ever in the least affect the deposit of faith, the Christian standards of morality or any of the truths of revealed religion.

For the initiated, however, the word "materialistic" is used by Marx and his followers with the implication that matter is the only reality and that all else is only "idealistic," or based upon ideas which have no corresponding reality except, to use the Marxian expression, "in the misty cloud formation of heaven." This assumption requires no answer here. Every Catholic child should be able to disprove it.

Finally the objection is made that Socialism, because based upon Economic Determinism, is founded upon science, and that therefore the Catholic Church, as the ancient bulwark of superstition, must consistently oppose it. The truth, again, is that nothing could be less scientific than the sciolism we often find paraded as science in Socialistic literature. Any theory, no matter how slightly probable, which can lend plausibility or apparent erudition to Socialist contentions, is likely to be heralded at once as an infallible truth. The fact that it may have been rejected by many of the most scientific minds of the world will not cast even a shadow of doubt upon it. In the same manner the old historic falsehoods, which have been a thousand times disproved, are found repeated here with as serene an air of certainty as if they had never met with a passing contradiction.

The Catholic Church, on the contrary, carefully discriminates between fact and theory. She joyfully welcomes every established scientific discovery as a new fortress added to her already impregnable position. She knows that every fact of

history, every reality of science, can only more strongly confirm the faith which God has consigned into her care, that between divine truth and human, between revealed religion and established science, there can never be the least possible contradiction. Yet she no less fearlessly displays her divinely given prudence in persistently refusing to set the seal of her approbation upon every mere theory, or to regard it in any other light than as a working hypothesis which she will gladly accept whenever its assertions can be established to demonstration.

This is the only true and scientific attitude. Were this test applied to it Socialism could not continue in existence for even a single day. To every duly informed and impartial investigator, the Catholic Church must appear, as she is in reality, the most truly advanced and scientific of all institutions, ancient and modern.

PART II

SO-CALLED CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

A FOREWORD

There has sprung up in recent years an entire school of writers, not all professedly Socialistic, whose doctrines deal with what they are pleased to call "the social mission of Christ." After the fashion of Christian Socialists they agree in reducing Christianity to little more than a mere system of economics. Thus they profess to bring it into closer sympathy with the age wherein we live. In reality they are only preparing the way for the great destructive revolution plotted over all the world by the combined forces of Socialism and Anarchism.

In perfect conformity with the Marxian philosophy, everything is declared by them subject to the changes of economic evolution, in which are sought the causes and explanations even of the teachings of Christ, of the origin of the Scriptures and of the so-called doctrinal development of the Church through the course of the centuries. The number of clergymen outside of the Catholic fold who are relinquishing the standard of orthodox Christianity for the red banner of Socialist revolution is daily becoming more appalling.

Among the authors we have described Christian Socialists are the most conscious of their aims and purposes. The influence which they exercise directly upon the international Socialistic movement may indeed be comparatively slight, if not altogether insignificant. Religiously considered, as a Christianizing factor, they certainly are a mere cipher in the Socialist revolution. But there is another aspect which must not be overlooked.

The literature of Christian Socialists and of all similar classes of writers forms a storehouse of religious sophistries dealing with Christ and His mission. From it countless Socialist orators, whose interest in Christianity is restricted to

its possibility of securing votes, draw their deceptive arguments. Infidel or agnostic in their own beliefs they have not as yet attained to sufficient independence to stand squarely upon the platform of their party and therefore still "prate of the Socialism of Jesus." It is for this reason that we have thought it advisable to enter into a thorough discussion of the present subject.

Finally a word of caution will here be in place. "Christian Socialism" must not be confused, as is frequently done, with the social ideals of Catholic authors, or of the Christian Social leaders of Austria, often incorrectly spoken of as Christian Socialists. Neither is the theory of a more widely extended municipal ownership, or of a *voluntary* co-operative commonwealth, established in accordance with Christian principles, to be considered as included in the technical term, "Christian Socialism."

VIII

CHRIST OR ANTI-CHRIST

A STORY is told us by a Swedish novelist of a little statue of the Christ Child at Santa Maria, in Ara Cœli. An Englishwoman, traveling through Rome, becomes enamored of it and believes she cannot live without possessing it. But gold cannot buy it for her and begging would be no less in vain. She, therefore, lights upon a new device.

A copy of the statue is made by her order, a likeness which in many details resembles the original, and yet a likeness in appearance only. The true image, we must know, was made of olive wood from the Garden of Gethsemane, was colored by an angel's brush, and was decked in ornaments of purest gold and jewels of the rarest lustre. The false image, on the contrary, is sculptured from the wood of an ordinary elm, painted by a mortal artist, and tricked out in worthless finery of tinted glass and gilded rings. With this concealed beneath her cloak she hurries to the church, and secretly taking from the lap of the Virgin Mother the true Christ Child, leaves in its place the false.

To ease her conscience, the English lady had previously scratched with her needle into the sham crown of her statue the words: *My Kingdom is only of this world.* When, therefore, by a miracle her fraud is detected, the prior in horror reads this inscription, and lifting on high the wretched counterfeit he hurls it down all the flights of stairs, shouting aloud the execration, "Anathema Antikristo!"

This false likeness of the Christ Child is meant for a symbol of Socialism. The author has taken the suggestion from Socialists themselves, for the comparison between their movement and the progress of the early Church is ever a favorite one with them. Nowhere, except in the growth of

Christianity, so they insist, shall we find anything that can stand comparison with the development of their organization, with the heroism shown, with the poverty endured, with the sacrifices offered, with the persecutions suffered, with the martyrdoms undergone and with the universal dissemination of the doctrines taught.

Christ, too, is acknowledged by them; for though they do not hold the myth of his divinity, they tell us, yet they alone practice and preach His doctrines which the Church is ever striving to obscure. In the mind of the true Marxist He holds a position analogous to that occupied by Plato and Confucius, and we even find assigned to Him by Socialists—if we may dare to repeat such ribaldry—a rank only second to their founder Marx, precisely as the Bible, by the almost common consent of their leaders, must yield to the Marxian "Capital" as a book of useful wisdom for mankind. If Socialism is not irreligious, its religion has no relation to God, and its interests are only of this world. So-called Christian Socialists will strive in vain to stem the current. They must leave it or be swept along in its course. The common mistake is to look upon Socialism as merely an economic theory, whereas it is a popular movement which has imbibed from its classics all their materialism and anti-Christianity, and which daily is putting this same literature into the hands of all its converts. No more surely is the little catechism placed into the hands of the catechumen than Marx, or Engels, or any one of their feather, is pressed upon the newly-made Socialist, or at least suggested to him for his reading and edification.

As for the growth of Socialism, no one would deny its rapidity. "Its teachings go out through all countries, and bear many names, misleading men because they promise earthly happiness and enjoyment to all, and win followers more than any doctrine that has gone through the world since the time of Christ." There is, however, this great difference between the growth of Socialism and the miraculous increase of God's

Church. While Christianity demands as the price of salvation the death of the carnal man, Socialism, in spite of its sacrifices, gives free reign to the instincts of unregenerated nature.

But to return to the false image where we left it lying with its dinted crown and its garments bedraggled with dust. So the Englishwoman found it, and taking it up woefully, went out into the world. And wherever it came the power of Christ was made to suffer opposition and His influence seemed diminished. This is certainly most literally true of Socialism.

Driving through the streets of Paris during the time of an insurrection, the lady was forced from her carriage, which the men heaped upon their barricades. The trunk which contained the image fell out and opened. At once the flimsy counterfeit was passed from hand to hand, but when they read the inscription on the crown, *My Kingdom is only of this world,* they shouted it along the lines. It was caught at last by one who was not like the workers about him. He was a man of education, whose life had been devoted to study and writing in the cause of poverty and labor, and the words made a deep impression upon his mind. The man thus symbolized is Marx.

There he continued fighting, and his garments were spattered with blood, and the misery of life seemed more unbearable than ever; but often as the smoke cleared away he saw the little image which had been set upon the barricades, and the words flashed through his mind, *My Kingdom is only of this world.* At last they wrote themselves in the air before them. He could read them lettered now in fire, now in blood, and now in the smoke of the battle. The riddle which had perplexed him for forty years was solved. He would go out and proclaim to all mankind: "Your Kingdom is only of this world. Therefore you must care for this life and live like brothers. No one must be rich and no one poor. You must all work and the earth must be owned by all. No one shall hunger, no one shall be tempted to luxury, and no one shall

suffer want in his old age. And you must think of increasing everyone's happiness, for there is no compensation awaiting you. *Your Kingdom is only of this world!"*

In this inscription, therefore, is contained the entire supposition upon which Socialism is founded. Here, on this whirling globe, is the beginning and the goal of existence for man; here is the labor and here must be all the reward. Whatever men may individually hold of another world they must look to this alone for the completed sanction of life. The earth exists for man and he has been robbed of his inheritance. Why talk of heaven! "Leave heaven," as they quote their infidel scoffer, "to angels and swallows." The Catholic Church is eminently vicious, immoral and enslaving for the souls of men, because she distracts their vision from the goods and evils of this life by presenting to them deceitful dreams of an hereafter, where all tears shall be dried and all virtue rewarded. She is keeping the poor in their shackles and securing the rich in their seats of tyranny and oppression. From both she is extorting her gains. "Here let us make to ourselves a paradise!" is the cry, even as it was heard in the days before the flood, but all their promises of fraternity, equality and earthly happiness shall prove no less vain and deceptive.

As our story continues it tells of how men pray to the false Christ image and they never pray in vain, although at the same time their faith is weakened and the things of this world take a firmer hold upon their souls. The village which harbors it prospers materially, while it sinks at the same time into infidelity and atheism. Is there any reason for supposing this increase in material prosperity? Briefly we may remark that a certain degree of economic improvement for a time is no impossibility where Socialism slowly settles into power. The anxiety of officials to stand approved by their party, the jealousy of any assumption of superiority or leadership, the searchlights ever playing from all points of vantage upon those in office may in the beginning preclude many attempts at peculation or injustice.

Only reform measures, moreover, can at present be carried into effect and it is not Socialism which in reality is placed upon trial. Here precisely is that fatal deception which so commonly misleads the public and the press and which makes them believe that Socialism itself has changed its revolutionary principles because the time is not ripe to bring them into prominence.

How far Socialists are from really desiring reform may best be judged by their bitter systematic opposition to every measure of social reform which is not introduced and conducted by themselves. All is done to win the confidences of the working classes, since it would be fatal to Socialist interests to display at this early period the true scope of their final purposes. The velvet paws are only playing, the claws are carefully withdrawn. We must not, however, believe that they have ever been pared. But should the hour of triumph ever come, should the social revolution ever be enacted and the co-operative commonwealth attempted, then the scenes recently witnessed in Spain, in Portugal, in France would be but a mild anticipation of what the world, and especially what Catholics might expect.

Many, like the Swedish author of our little allegory, reared in Protestantism, without having caught more than the merest glimpse of the beauty and wisdom of the Catholic Church, and still believing that the superstition, idolatry and fanaticism which in their conceptions represent her are true pictures of the reality of her doctrine and practice, nevertheless look to her alone for the final solution of the entire social problem. That Socialists can only prepare, like all other enemies of the Church, for her final triumph is evident. The revulsion caused by the emptiness of mere worldly hopes must finally help to lead men back to the one divine source of light and love, the Catholic Church.

Socialism can, however, in no sense be called a "co-redeemer of mankind together with the Catholic Church." Now as in the past we must look to her to save the world from temporal

as well as spiritual ruin. What she accomplished in the days of pagan Rome, what she accomplished in the ages of the barbarian invasions she can and will again accomplish in the present.

The one benefit that Socialism brings with it for mankind is the interest it helps to create in questions which sorely need consideration, but for which it has no final solution to offer to the world. It may help us likewise, without intending it, in our work of social reform, but its last remedy is nothing less than universal destruction of all existing social order while substituting instead its own tyranny, slavery and confusion until the world once more return to its old course after a dreadful ablution in fire and blood. "We must finally have recourse to violence in order to establish the rule of labor," said Marx at the Congress of the Hague (1872), and the same is the opinion of other great Socialist writers.

Another fatal mistake which is made by many non-Catholics and which Catholics themselves can not too carefully guard against is that the Church should take up the present materialistic movement, which is known as Socialism, and bring it safely in her arms to Christ: "You could take the great popular movement in your arms, while it is still lying like a child in its swaddling clothes, and you could bear it to Jesus' feet; and Antichrist would see that he is nothing but an imitation of Christ, and would acknowledge Him his Lord and Master. But you do not do so. You cast Antichristianity on the pyre, and soon he in turn will cast you there."

This is a deceptive counsel. The Church assuredly can never, without contradicting herself, take up into her arms the popular movement as it exists to-day. All that it is possible for her to do is to show her true motherly love for the souls of all who are drawn away by it; to yearn for them and pray for them and toil for them, though they repay her love with hatred; to keep from danger those who heed her voice and to put forth to the utmost her divinely given power for the betterment, temporal and spiritual, of the world.

Socialism itself is irreconcilable with Catholicity. Though it "loves and renounces and teaches and suffers like Christianity," yet it has for its whole mission to take men's hearts away from God and give them to the world with its concupiscences. It comes under a false image of the Good Samaritan, who heals the wounds of humanity; of the despised Nazarene, who drives out of the temple the throngs of buyers and sellers; of the poor Victim for the sins of the world, who falls beneath the hatred of obsequious priests and pampered pharisees; but between it and the true Samaritan, the true Zealot for the glory of God's house, the true Victim for the sins of the rich and poor alike, there is all the difference which eternally must exist between Christ and Antichrist.

IX

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

CHRISTIAN Socialism is the last device to capture the Catholic voter when all other tactics have proved futile. The fact that some hundreds of clergymen, not of the Catholic fold, have openly declared themselves for revolution and have adopted Socialism, with its philosophy and all its consequences, is evidently no argument for the logical Catholic that he may safely follow their example. Still it will be well to enter with some detail into the study of this modern heresy, which is of special significance, in as far as we find in it the culmination of all modern tendencies in rationalistic religion to end in the preaching of universal revolution.

In America Christian Socialism has found its most complete expression in the Christian Socialist Fellowship, which teaches Socialism as the fulfilment of the Christian ideal of the kingdom of God on earth. Its object is "to permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus." This consists not in social reform, but in "precisely the grimy, defiant Socialism of the abhorred class-struggle." The revolution proposed is to effect not merely the social order of our time, but the teaching of the Churches themselves. "The best spirits of the day," says Rev. Herman Kutter, "are really beginning to believe in the possibility of a new world. They feel that the old moral and religious categories are no longer valid; that they have served their day and have become mere phrases. . . . When the Church maintains that the Social-Democracy is godless in professing belief only in matter, is it not plain that the Church has herself missed the way of the living God?" (*They Must: A Frank Word to Christian Men and Women.*)

The book we have quoted is a leading propaganda work,

"the voice of a true prophet," which is calculated, we are told, "to stir the religious people to the depths of their hearts." It is no surprise, therefore, to learn that even the insertion of the name of our Divine Lord into the constitution was accomplished with difficulty and, of course, does not imply any belief in His divinity. By the narrow margin of a single vote the issue was decided: "What shall (we) do then with Jesus that is called Christ?" His name at least was to be retained.

The following was the official declaration made at the New York Conference of 1908: "The Fellowship believes in and advocates Socialism without any qualifying adjectives whatever. The Socialism it preaches differs in no way from that of the International movement, and the influence of the Fellowship is unreservedly given to the party." Not merely is Marxian Socialism completely embraced, but its historic materialism is ever more strongly adopted as the movement continues.

Christian Socialism is held in the utmost contempt by the great founders of the Socialist Party, to which it clings as a fungous growth.

"That singular hybrid, the Christian Socialist," Bax, in his *Ethics of Socialism* calls the man who travesties both Socialism and Christianity by attempting to combine the two. "The association of Christianity with any form of Socialism is a mystery," he adds. "The word Socialism," says Kautsky in his *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History,* "covers to-day such various wares, among them some really worthless, Christian and national Socialism of all kinds." (P. 118.) And in the *Communist Manifesto,* Marx himself declares that "Christian Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrats." Fortunately "the priest" is not connected with the Socialist movement, unless he has first left the Church. Engels is not satisfied that the Socialist should be an agnostic, but would have him an atheist without any compromise.

Bebel, in his speech before the Reichstag, March 31, 1881,

repeated and emphasized in the presence of his comrades the statement he had made in 1872 when he was the only Socialist representative in that body. "I then declared," he said, "and therewith concluded my speech: that in politics we stand for a republic; in economics, for Socialism; and in religion, for atheism." At the interruption here made by the parties of the Right he merely remarked, "Yes, gentlemen, is this anything new to you?" It certainly was not. The same still holds true to-day. (*Session* 26, *p.* 657.) Bebel, however, does not believe in robbing people of their faith, he expressly states in his book on *Woman and Socialism* (p. 437), since this will disappear of itself under Socialism, although in practice neither he nor his party have the patience to wait for that time. He thus writes, quoting the authority of Marx:

"Religion is the transcendental reflection of the Social condition of every age. In the measure in which human development progresses and society is transformed, religion is transformed likewise. 'Religion,' says Marx, in his Critic of the Philosophy of Law by Hegel, 'is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness; it springs from a state of society that requires an illusion, but disappears when the recognition of true happiness and the possibility of its realization penetrates the masses.'"

The Christian Socialist, according to Haywood, "is one who is drunk on religious fanaticism and is trying to sober up on economic truth." While half-sobered he is still striving to convert that "child of the devil," the capitalist; but when wholly sobered he will evidently forget that he ever was a Christian.

The pamphlet entitled *Socialism and Religion,* which is issued by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and may be called its manifesto, is most refreshing in its rejection of all cant upon this subject: "The contradiction in terms known as the Christian Socialist is inevitably antagonistic to working-class interest and the waging of the class struggle. . . . His avowed object, indeed, is usually to purge the Socialist move-

ment of its materialism, and this, as we have seen, means to purge it of its Socialism. . . . No man can be consistently both a Socialist and a Christian. . . . Socialism, both as a philosophy and as a form of society, is the antithesis of religion." These passages are gathered passim; but the entire pamphlet is written to show that Socialism must necessarily "lead to the exclusion of the supernatural." Of this latter we may safely say that there is even now scarcely a vestige left in the Christian Socialism of our day.

Socialists, however, do not content themselves with showing the unreasonableness of what they have termed this "bastard system," they have likewise titles of special distinction, which they often lavish upon its defenders. "Humbugs," "charlatans," and "spineless hypocrites," they have called them by turns. They are willing, nevertheless, to parade them for campaign purposes. Ministers, moreover, with their superior training and education, have frequently fared well in a political way and have attained to positions of special importance. This, however, was due to their personality and revolutionary agitation. A preacher who offered his church to the anarchist lecturer, Emma Goldman, when all the halls of the city were closed against her, was thus rewarded for his progressiveness and chivalry.

"Aside of the Christians who live to 'cheat God' and their fellow-men," says a writer in the *Call,* "and the professional Christians who live on church graft, are sentimentalists who to-day prate of the 'Socialism of Jesus.' Ten years ago these same people prayed that the divine Christ and the power of Christian civilization might stem the tide of Darwinism and Socialism and anarchism. Now they seek, not so much to help Socialism, as to keep the poor churches alive." (*March* 12, 1911.)

The reason, it is true, invariably assigned by Socialists for the essential antagonism of their doctrines to Christianity are the two equally absurd suppositions, that Socialism is based upon science and that true science is antagonistic to religion.

The falsity of these statements, however, does not save the Christian Socialist. What Socialists understand by science is the pseudo-scientific historic materialism upon which all agree that Socialism is based and without which Socialism ceases to exist. Between this and Christianity there can be no compromise. Yet Christian Socialists accept this theory as more dogmatically true than the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the Scriptures.

"What respectable mind," writes the Unitarian minister Zastrow in the *Call,* "can now believe in the theological dogmas of an infallible Church, in an infallible book, and in the person of an infallible man? . . . Through the discovery of the law of gravitation, the angels of the Christian mythology were banished. Through still other discoveries and reflection thereon the personal God of the Church was eliminated, because he was found an unnecessary hypothesis in science, a useless and absurdly fantastic monstrosity, too hypothetical to even receive a graceful bow of recognition from the mind of thinking man." (*Nov.* 26, 1911.) While all do not deny both the divinity of Christ and the existence of a personal God, there is, nevertheless, one thing and one alone which all Socialists must admit as infallibly true, and that is historic materialism. The argument by which the Christian Socialist strives to save at least a vestige of religion is that historic materialism is not "the sole factor" to be considered.

They all agree with Marx that the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange at any given time determines the social organization of that period, and must likewise affect its religious teaching. It is, in a word, the bread-problem which decides the religion, as well as the politics and civilization of every age. The *Christian Socialist* clearly states upon this point, "that the method by which a people seeks to satisfy its first wants (*i. e.,* its material needs) conditions its higher life and shapes its *religious,* educational, social, political, industrial and commercial institutions." (*February Special,* 1912.)

Religion, therefore, is made dependent upon economic conditions and all stability in creed, doctrine or morality is denied. While the Church is ceaselessly writing eternities upon the sands of time, they claim, the waves are forever rolling up and washing them away. Religion pure and undefiled exists, for the present age, in Social-Democracy alone. This is the sum of the lessons taught in Christian Socialism. According to the Zürich minister, Rev. Herman Kutter, the oracle of our American Christian Socialists, Jesus *had* God, though he was not God; the Socialist, though an atheist and a scoffer, infallibly has God in the self-same way; but the Catholic Christian who denounces Socialism has neither righteousness nor God. "In reality God is neither in the Conservatives nor in the Christian-Social Reformers, but in the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats alone understand that a new world must come. They *have* the living God. Not in pious formulæ and ceremony—they do not pray to him, nay, they deny him. But they have him in fact. . . . .

"When a great party (the Socialists) to-day declares war on all religion, shall we in the light of the teachings of the past see in this merely a sign of godlessness? Nay, do we not see rather that God and Church, God and religion, are not one and the same thing; that the living God forever concerns himself but little with the dogmas that Christians manufacture about him. . . . All religion that consists in doctrines and ceremonies is reprehensible, for nothing must stand between man and God." (*Christian Socialist, Jan.* 15, 1908.)

Not merely has the ancient form of Christianity to undergo radical changes to adapt itself to modern economic conditions, we are told, but the churches which still hold to it have lost their usefulness, and by misrepresenting the proletarian mission of Jesus and reading into it a capitalistic message have become the strongholds of injustice and ignorance. They are class institutions, and unless they change their methods and their interpretation of the Scriptures they must all alike be swept away. To these slanders, as applied to the Catholic

Church, intimidations are added, which, however they may affect Protestants, can certainly cause no misgivings in the heart of the Catholic. The young Sigfried, the coming Social Democracy—it is whispered in our ear—is even now forging his victorious sword. Already can be heard the ringing of his anvil and the fading darkness brightens with the flashing sparks as they fly beneath his sturdy blows. Soon his weapon will be ready and all the Churches that are not with him on the day of his triumph are doomed to inevitable destruction unless they now capitulate on his terms.

The Catholic Church, the one true Church of Christ, has never capitulated. She will surrender neither to Capitalist nor Socialist nor to any economic theorist. She comes with no class message, but with a world message for all mankind. She knows of no interpretations of the Gospels except such as the Holy Spirit of God teaches her. "And I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever. The Spirit of Truth, Whom the world can not receive, because it seeth Him not, nor knoweth Him: but you shall know Him; because He shall abide with you and shall be in you." (St. John 14:16,17.)

It is because the Spirit of Truth abides with the Church forever, because Christ Himself has solemnly promised, "And behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 20), and because this word of God has never and can never be made void that the Catholic Church remains unchanged amid a changing world, unmoved amid the ebb or flow of time and tide. Science can but confirm the truth of her teaching, and she gladly welcomes it wherever it is clearly founded upon fact. Persecution can but strengthen her the more, since this, too, has been promised by the Christ from whose side she was begotten, as they pierced it on the Cross. She is the Spouse forever of the Crucified.

X

THE CHRIST OF SOCIALISM

THE word "Christian" has come to mean no more than the word "Marxian" to the Christian Socialist. It implies nothing more than an admiration for the person of Christ as the great proletarian agitator whose work is perfected and crowned by the far more successful and perhaps far greater leader, Marx.

The picture of the Divine Saviour as depicted for us in Christian Socialism is almost too blasphemous to present to the Catholic reader, and yet it is by this that souls are led astray in our age when revolution is the catch word of the hour. Consistently with the false philosophies of the time, it offers to us the new ideal of "a Christ carrying the red flag of revolt against constituted authority, the 'law and order' of His time." "Christ," they say, "the democrat, the agitator, the revolutionary, the rebel, the bearer of the red flag. Yes, we can understand this figure." (*Call, Nov.* 19, 1911.)

In the literature of Christian Socialism even our Blessed Lady is not spared. As she stood beneath the cross of Christ in His sacred passion, so here likewise she must have her share in this new crucifixion of her Son by the side of that modern robber and blasphemer, Karl Marx, with his doctrine of expropriation and his mockery at the sheep nature of the Christian, which, he tells us, is shown in his resemblance to the Lamb of God. The thoughts treasured in the heart of Mary are interpreted as a silent resolution to dedicate her Child to the work of insurrection, and the Magnificat becomes nothing less than an "incendiary" call to universal revolution. Such is the meaning given to those verses in the beautiful canticle of humility: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble."

A modern writer, recommended to all its readers by the *Christian Socialist,* thus materializes and revolutionizes this most sublime of canticles:

"If the churches of the well-off and privileged class," he says —though certainly the Catholic Church can not be numbered among these—"realized the social dynamite that is concealed in this hymn composed by the carpenter's mother, they would expurgate it from their liturgies forthwith. The burst of insurrection rumbles through it like the interior fires of a volcano. It is prolific in Magna Chartas. It is a Declaration of Independence from every form of slavishness. 'The Marsellaise' of the ancient world! And this hymn of revolution, pulsing with hatred of oppressors and with fellow feeling for 'all the oppressed ones of earth!' was composed and sung by Mary while she was carrying Jesus underneath her heart!" (*The Call of the Carpenter, Bouck White.*)

All reverence has been lost, all spiritual insight sacrificed, all safe guidance of divinely instituted authority cast aside, and the bridal song of the Most Holy Spirit upon the lips of Mary has degenerated into nothing more than "the battle hymn of democracy."

The distorted vision of the preacher revolutionist sees even in the songs which the Catholic Church is said still to retain from the early revolutionary days of communism the signs of the great rebellion: "The revolutionary character of Christ's mission was fully recognized by the early Church. The Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelation, the writings of the Fathers, the early canons of the Church, the hymns, etc., all testify to the revolution. The Catholic Church sings yet:

> " 'The Son of God goes forth to war
> A kingly crown to gain;
> His *blood-red banner* streams afar—
> Who follows in His train?' "
> (*Christian Socialist, Jan.* 1, 1909.)

Unfortunately for the reverend gentleman whose editorial

we have here quoted, the song in question is related neither to the early Church nor to the Catholic Church at any other period of her existence; but is a modern Protestant hymn, in which the bloody banner evidently refers to the sacred Passion of Our Divine Lord and in nowise to the red flag of Socialism and anarchy. In the same way a materialistic interpretation is given to the entire gospel and the writings of the Fathers. It is difficult to treat such reasoning seriously; yet this is the matter constantly presented to Socialist readers. Other heresies in former ages have offered arguments that were no more convincing; but the passions of the time made up for the reason that was lacking. The same holds true to-day.

Christian Socialists do not deny that Christ came to preach repentance and to bring forgiveness of sin. "We must repent and forsake our sins before we can be made whole," says the *Christian Socialist,* and it then explains what these sins are. "We must destroy poverty, tenements, occupational diseases and accidents, unsanitary housing, working and playing conditions; we must give to children good parentage and proper homes, and, before we can accomplish all this, we must destroy capitalism, the cause of it all. We must destroy capitalism and substitute Socialism."

To destroy or alleviate the temporal evils of society is indeed well and good, and nowhere has this work been carried on so successfully as by the Catholic Church in Catholic days. But there are still other sources of evil which, as we experience in the best conditioned society, are to be removed neither by sanitary housing nor by any economic advantages, they are to be found in the doctrine of the primal fall, of original sin and of the concupiscence that followed upon them.

These, of course, Christian Socialists can not admit. They are incompatible with the essential Socialistic theory of economic determinism. The great sin against which Christ is said to have waged His incessant war is the existing order of society, is capitalism. The one remedy and the one source of divine justification is Socialism. In this alone can we find

"our righteousness and our glory" (*Christian Socialist.*) "When we no longer expect divine grace and mystical sacraments and words repeated after the manner of charms to make it possible for us to live up to our ideals of what is right, then we are prepared to accept the doctrine that sin is provoked in much the same way as consumption is and may be cured by much the same method." (*Coming Nation, Nov.* 25, 1911.) This is the fundamental dogma of the modern heresy.

The avowed purpose of Christian Socialism is to call our attention away from the future life, in order to concentrate it upon the material needs of the present, which are now of prime importance. Men must be freed from the thraldom of a spiritual faith that they can concentrate their attention upon the abolition of wealth and the destruction of the existing order. A Christianity which makes them seek their happiness in the world to come is utterly pernicious, and can only perpetuate the present system of private ownership. A vivid hope on the part of the common people in the unending happiness of another world must blunt the acute sense of their grievances in the present and rob them of all true revolutionary aspirations.

Such we are told was likewise the principle acted upon by our divine Lord, Who in announcing His mission is said to have carefully avoided all reference to a future existence, Whose kingdom was primarily or exclusively of this earth, and Whose object differed in no particular from that proposed by Marx. Christ failed because He had merely an ideal to follow. Marx will succeed because he has, besides the same ideal, likewise the ballot and the popular movement to support him. Both, therefore, are made dependent as mere men upon merely human means for the establishment of their common ideal, which has been variously called the kingdom of God, the kingdom of Christ or the Marxian commonwealth. "The Hebrew idealists, Plato, Buddha, Thomas More, St. Simon, Bacon, Tolstoy and Jesus," says the Rev. Roland Sawyer, "all had this ideal of society, and they are men who

cannot be treated lightly." This idea is expressed even more clearly by the leading contributors to the *Christian Socialist:*

"Moses, Jesus Christ and Karl Marx," writes Rev. Wm. A. Prosser, "three of the greatest revolutionists of human history! They were Jews by birth, but cosmopolitans by choice. They repudiated their consanguineous descent to espouse the brotherhood of man. They are a trinity in one, one in spirit, mission and objective. . . . If we believe in them as we claim to, let us heed their call, enlist under their 'blood-red banner' and march on together to the conquest of the world." (*March* 14, 1912.)

This language, which reverence makes us quote with hesitation and reluctance, is not considered as in the least extreme or unusual in Christian Socialist literature. Rev. Prosser is the weekly contributor of the "International Socialist Sunday School Lesson" to the official organ, and such is the matter which is weekly submitted to several hundred reverend clergymen throughout the United States to be preached to their congregations and to be instilled into the minds of the children entrusted to their care. In addition to this, all inducements are held out by the *Christian Socialist* for the purchase of the infidel Socialist literature of men like Marx, Engels, Kautsky and even Bebel.

Thus under the plea of religion is the remnant of Christianity being destroyed in the hearts of their hearers, while the spirits of the young are inflamed with the unholy fire of hatred, envy and revolt. A generation of revolutionary atheists will be the fruit of their labors. Even now Christian Socialists do not hesitate to declare that such are immeasurably to be preferred to the Catholic who believes in another world while opposing Socialism in this. "In America the cardinals, bishops, preachers, etc., who misread Christ's Gospel to the Poor as an exploiting class message (as all non-Socialists are said to do) and support the robberies of capitalism (another crime generously attributed to us all) against the just, reasonable, Christian demands of Socialism are either economic ignoramuses,

'intellectual asses' or hypocrites." Between the infidel and the Christian Socialist there is evidently little choice. This they themselves are willing enough to admit.

"Jesus had an eternal, unchanging *must* within Him, the compulsion of divine love. And this same compulsion moves the Social-Democracy," writes Pastor Kutter. "What the Social-Democracy has in common with the gospel is not single debatable measures and rules, but a great, irresistible *must,* in the faith of which it announces a new order. . . . The Church no longer understands the living God; the Social-Democrats do. . . . The time will come when their 'atheism' will prove to have been the hidden confession of the living God."

All this argument, no less than the entire heresy of Christian Socialism, is based upon the one preposterous supposition that the Church—and we confine ourselves to the consideration of the Catholic Church alone—has both in her doctrine and her practice substituted for the worship of Christ the worship of Mammon; for the commandments of God, the commandments of Mammon. "Mammon-truth, Mammon justice, Mammon-morality, Mammon-piety," such is the accusation of Christian Socialism, as of all other Socialism, perpetually made against her. It is the blackest falsehood that was ever invented by the spirit of darkness against the Church of Christ and of His poor. However individuals may fail, the Church herself can never prostitute her doctrine to the service of wealth. If the constant slanders of Christian Socialism had even the least foundation in fact, there could be no Christianity at all, since Christ would have proved Himself an imposter when He said that He and His Spirit would forever abide with His Church even to the consummation of days. Should there even be priests and prelates who would forget their duty to the poor, yet the doctrine of the Church would remain unchanged, as it is unchangeable, and the poor of our age, as of all ages, would still crowd into her fold and be pressed to her mother's heart of love. To her alone has been transmitted through

twenty centuries the mission of Christ to teach His gospel to the poor.

Christian Socialism is therefore based upon the two-fold falsehood that the Church of Christ, with her divine promise of indefectibility, has capitulated in practice and doctrine to Mammon, and that the gospel of Christ, though denied by Socialists, is nevertheless Socialism pure and simple. That Christ was a revolutionary agitator is so patent a falsehood that all great Socialist writers have protested against it. "The most absurd claim of all," says the Socialist Party of Great Britain, "is that Christ was a Socialist. This is the last refuge of the confusonist and mystery-monger." (*Socialism and Religion.*) Or, as Dietzgen even more strongly expressed himself: "Whoever mistakes Christ for a Socialist is surely a dangerous muddlehead." (*Phil. Essays, p.* 122.)

We shall quote in the following chapters some of the gospel passages upon which Christian Socialists strive to construct their doctrine. The angel of darkness has before this shown himself able to quote scripture, and the Holy Books themselves tell us that there are many who wrest them to their own perdition. Christian Socialism is the last development of Protestantism and the last result of the private and unauthorized interpretation of the Word of God. Never perhaps at any past epoch of the Church's history has the spirit of Christ been so completely misinterpreted as it is to-day in this new doctrine, which, clinging to the skirts of the great atheist movement, has come with it to revolutionize the entire order of society, social, political and religious. It is not satisfied with a denial of the teachings of Christ, but insists upon entirely reversing them.

A serious warning is offered here for believing Protestants, for all who still retain their faith in the divine Saviour Christ, to return to the Home which they have left, to the Fold whence they have strayed, to the Church apostolic, holy, one and Catholic, whence long ago they have wandered forth, before their footsteps are lost in the night.

XI

ECONOMIC CHRISTIANITY

IN the literature of Christian Socialism we read of three great religious movements, said to have been brought about by the will of God: the Mosaic Exodus, the preaching of the kingdom of Christ, and the establishment of the Social Democracy.

The Mosaic Exodus is defined as nothing but a vast labor movement, an industrial revolution, the first mammoth strike and walk-out in all history. Moses himself is pictured as "the greatest of labor leaders," a most successful agitator who carefully refrained from any "promise of deliverance after death," because he knew how enervating all such thoughts must be to a proletariat in the throes of a mighty struggle for economic liberation.

Meanwhile the "hypocritical priests, princes and business men," it is hinted, were most probably employed, then as now, in preaching contentment upon earth together with the hope of a bright immortality hereafter. Such is the traditional method by which capitalism is said to enrich itself at the expense of popular ignorance and the misery of the working people. The same motives are now ascribed to the Church which fearlessly proclaims the gospel in the spirit of Christ and refuses to lower the Cross before the red flag of Socialistic revolution. By these insidious means Socialists hope to beget in the hearts of the Catholic workingmen a profound distrust and aversion against priests, bishops and even the Vicar of Christ. "True religion," says the *Christian Socialist,* "from its very nature leads to proletarian revolution." (*Jan.* 1, 1909.)

It would seem needless, except for the constant insistence of certain classes of Socialist writers, to prove that there does not exist the slightest ground for any comparison between

the Marxian revolution and the Mosaic Exodus. The latter was not in any way a labor agitation in the Socialistic sense, but a divine liberation from the yoke of an oppressive foreign power and from the dangers of Egyptian idolatry. The truth of this is made plain beyond all doubt or cavil by the fact that the very first condition of a Socialistic revolution was entirely wanting in this great national and religious movement. The institution of master and servant, of employer and employed, against which all Socialistic agitation is directed, was never even in the least degree revolutionized by Moses. These relations not merely existed in the promised land, but were even divinely recognized in the code of laws which God Himself gave to the Israelites. Thus the Mosaic Exodus affords but cold comfort for the preachers of industrial revolution constantly proclaiming their orthodoxy in the name of "the greatest of labor leaders."

What Moses wished to secure for the Jews—and far more than this—the Church seeks to provide for all mankind. It was the Church that abolished the state of slavery which, in a restricted form, was still tolerated by the Mosaic code, although the emancipation of slaves was even then considered a work pleasing to God, and after a limited period of service actually became of obligation. Liberation from Egyptian servitude, justice, charity, and above all, opportunity for the unimpeded exercise of the worship of God, for which alone man was created and by which alone he can achieve his destined happiness, was the entire scope of the Mosaic Exodus. To accomplish this there was no need of evading the issues of a future life. Rather were these needed the more to serve as an inspiration and encouragement for the Jews to effect at all hazards their liberation from foreign tyranny and from the contaminating influences of Egyptian idolatry.

No people in history had ever before been surrounded as were the Israelites of this period with the visible presence of another world, and overwhelmed so completely with that sense of the supernatural which Socialists hold to be incompatible

with the revolutionary spirit of a class-conscious proletariat. The vision of the burning bush, the long succession of miracles preceding the flight into the desert, the dreadful destroying angel, the parting of the waters, the going of the Lord before the children of Israel in a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, the countenance of Moses still radiant with the divine effulgence which had shone upon him on the mount, the severe penalties inflicted upon the Jews for their idolatrous worship when three and twenty thousand men were instantly slain at the command of their inspired leader, and finally the awful threat of the All-Holy God in Whose sight sin is the only abomination: "He that hath sinned against Me, him will I strike out of My Book"—these are facts at the thought of which the sarcastic comment of Christian Socialists sounds hollow indeed: "The God of Moses became such a rank 'materialist' that He seemed to forget all about saving the souls of His people." (*Christian Socialist, Jan.* 1, 1909.)

Little, however, as the theocratic government of the Jews, established by Moses, with its countless rites, its sacrificial ceremonies, its priestly class divinely instituted, its acknowledgment of the principle of ownership and of the entire system of remuneration by wages, can for a moment be mistaken for a Socialistic commonwealth, still less can the Kingdom of Christ be accepted in a Socialistic sense, as to-day it is so frequently preached outside of the Catholic fold.

"We now know," writes the *Vorwärts,* "that the Galilean rebel, who summoned his tribe to the combat, and, like many another insurrectionist of his day, suffered the death of the cross by the sentence of the Roman prætor, had precious little in common with the civilized and frizzled Christ of theological bungling." (*Apr.* 7, 1912.)

Such doctrine, based upon the authority of books like Kautsky's puerile and utterly unscientific work upon the origin of Christianity, which all true scholarship has relegated to the limbo of historical myths and falsehoods, has found a hearty welcome among Christian Socialists of every country. "The

incrustations are now peeling off from the blurred and defaced picture of Christ," our American workingmen are told, "by the grace of the critical scholarship of our day, revealing some vivid tints of the portrait." These of course are the red Socialistic colorings of industrial revolution and political insurrection.

How completely the spiritual conception of religion is disappearing before the new economic and materialistic doctrine, wherever this has gained an entrance, can best be seen in the popular application of the materialistic conception of history even to the very life of Christ. A practical illustration can be found in a recent book, most strongly endorsed by the Christian Socialists and especially recommended by a Y. M. C. A. lecturer, who considers the diffusion of it an important part of his apostolate.

Ignoring the supernatural birth of Christ, the author represents Him as a purely human laborer in revolt against existing society because deprived by it of His livelihood; "because his work as an artisan was being brought to naught by the industrial despotism that, like a creeping paralysis, was advancing upon the country." He therefore sets out to arouse the people against Roman domination, which was becoming a menace to the working class. His mission is declared to be for the laborer alone. Though severe upon sin, "It was social sin he hit at. The pangs he inflicted were guilt pangs over a society deflowered and dismembered by economic iniquity." Without the slightest sense of reverence, since there is here no question of a divine person, He is described as a "good mixer," and His powers, acknowledged only as purely natural, are spoken of as "redoubling beneath the stimulus of success and popularity." His prophecies become mere forecasts, evidently made in the light of that economic determinism which was to be scientifically proposed by Marx. Thus He is said to regard democracy as "an elemental force, moving down the centuries with might irresistible, and crushing gainsayers like a falling millstone." He is "democracy's chief asset," and His whole life

is contained for the Socialist preacher in the five words, "He stirreth up the people," which, although spoken of Him by His enemies in order to bring false accusation against Him, are nevertheless interpreted as correctly representing the "inflammatory purpose" of His mission. His very footprints become to the distorted imagination dragons' teeth, raising up a harvest of rebellion whithersoever He went, while His pierced hands, even to-day, lift empires off their hinges.

If the Scriptures say so little directly of the Carpenter as a workingman, and nothing, we may add, as a revolutionist, the reason given is that "the cultured class some centuries later seized upon the carpenter and appropriated him for their own. Naturally to these the only portion of his life that had aught of interest was his career as a teacher."

If, again, certain parts of the Sacred Writings are found by some to be too evidently in contradiction with their own preconceived notions which they read into the Scriptures, the solution is equally simple. The Scriptures are regarded by them as merely human documents, and can be rejected wherever found to be "capitalistic." On such grounds Saint Paul has already been relegated by not a few. "Paul, too, looms up for many as a gloomy greatness," writes Dessmann sarcastically, "but the darkness, to be sure, is caused to a great extent by the bad lamps in our workshops." (*Paulus.*)

"Rome needed a religion," writes one of its staff in the *Call,* "and here [in Christianity] was one that required but a clever transformation to become available for the purpose of continuing exploitation and slavery for the masses. Under his [Paul's] skillful jugglery the rebel and democrat [Christ] was gradually transformed into the imperial master of Rome, and of the world. He was needed in this rôle to hold the immense hosts of slaves in check."(*Nov.* 19, 1911.) Misinterpreting the words of the great Apostle they falsely picture him as a champion of slavery in the interests of capitalism.

We have contented ourselves in this chapter with giving in outline the character of that new heresy which the Catholic

Church and every truly Christian institution will be called upon to combat in the present time. It is this which is preached to the working classes who have still some faith in Christ, and which is openly proclaimed by an ever increasing number of ministers of the gospel outside of the fold of the Catholic Church. The disclosures which could here be made would be truly startling.

The supernatural—except for the name—has entirely disappeared, together with the divinity of our Lord, and there is left little more than a Christ of politics and economics. This is true not merely of the books and articles which issue from the Socialistic press, but often of the writings of men who lay no claim to Socialist relationship. We may here profitably repeat again the critical estimate contributed by Spargo to the *International Socialist Review* upon a book dealing with Christianity and written by the foremost authority among Christian Socialists:

"One gathers from Professor Rauchenbusch a concept of Christianity which would justify most men who now call themselves atheists and agnostics being included in the category of Christians." (*Feb.*, 1908.) Than these words from a leading Socialist author nothing could more perfectly describe the inevitable fate of all Christianity that strives to reconcile itself with Socialist philosophy.

XII

CONCEPT OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM

THE constantly increasing importance of the social issues of our time gives to the idea of the kingdom of God a particular interest for our age. Even agnostic and atheistic authors see embodied in it a social concept of the highest significance. For the Christian, however, it assumes a far loftier aspect. It is for him the last fulfilment of all the prophecies, the object of the coming of Christ, the sole purpose worthy of the noblest ambitions of every rational creature, the complete realization in fine of God's own end in creation, redemption and sanctification.

The establishment of God's kingdom within our souls, and its extension throughout the world, is the one supreme work which is assigned to man on earth. To this all our actions should tend and all our motives should be directed. It is not surprising, therefore, that promoters of the modern revolutionary heresy strive to read into this central teaching of the Gospels their own perversive doctrines.

Such writers are not prepared to renounce entirely the name of Christ, much less, however, are they willing to acknowledge His divinity, to accept His doctrines or to follow His example. No choice is, therefore, left to them except to invent a Christ and a Christianity of their own, and to model their Messianic kingdom according to their own heart's devising. With this new ideal then in mind they solemnly pronounce all other teaching spurious and themselves the only Christians, the only followers of the "Galilean rebel."

"Socialists and other agitators," writes the infidel Spargo, "hurl thunderbolts of superbly passionate invective against Churchianity, against what they feel to be an organized masquerade, but there is ever reverence and love for Jesus. They

resent the perversion of His teaching by the churches and cherish in their hearts the pictures of the New Testament in which Christ's *humanity* is portrayed." Not Christ Whom the Scriptures proclaim the Son of God; not Christ, the Lord and Master Whom Christians worship and adore; but a creation of the modern revolutionary mind, a figment of the religious imagination distorted by class-hatred and rationalistic thought, a purely human proletarian—"the great comrade"—is the object of this superstitious cult.

In the same manner the kingdom of God is treated as the highest sociological expression of economic and industrial Christianity. Though the word "spiritual" may often occur in reference to it, we must remember that this word likewise has, in many cases, undergone a complete change of definition. Socialists who acknowledge neither soul nor God enthusiastically dilate upon the "spiritual significance of Socialism," and write entire books upon this subject. Even syndicalism is described as "spiritual" in significance, without any reference to that evil spirit to whom it chiefly owes whatever spirituality it can boast.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find the kingdom which Christ came, according to the prophet, to establish and strengthen, described for us as purely, or at least, as primarily material.

"In the sense of a new material order Jesus undoubtedly uses the common phrase, the kingdom of God, the kingdom of heaven," says Rev. G. H. Strobell, in his "Christian View of Socialism." This kingdom is elsewhere described as "simply a world-embracing social order." To make this teaching still more emphatic and detailed, the Rev. Mr. Long adds: "This order was not fundamentally spiritual, but fundamentally physical." (*Christian Socialist, June* 1, 1909.) It is in fine to be realized for our day in the Marxian cooperative commonwealth.

I.—INVISIBLE KINGDOM OF GOD WITHIN US

In view, therefore, of the confusion created in modern religious literature by the infusion of Socialistic thought, it will be useful to cast a critical glance at this question, since even Catholics are exposed to no inconsiderable danger from Socialism itself, or from the infiltration of its doctrines into journalistic literature. We shall search, therefore, the Scriptures, as our Lord has taught us to do, for the true nature of the kingdom proclaimed by Him.

There are many various phases under which this is represented, yet all harmonize into one beautiful and perfect plan of the Divine Wisdom. The kingdom of God is within us and without, on earth and in heaven, for time and eternity. It is equally verified in the Church militant and in the Church triumphant. There are, however, three general aspects under which we may comprehensively consider it: as an invisible kingdom existing in the soul, as a visible kingdom extended over the earth, and finally as a kingdom of glory in the world to come.

In the first place, the kingdom of God exists *within us* by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, by grace and virtue. It is thus in no sense physical, but purely spiritual. "And being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God should come, He answered them, and said: the kingdom of God cometh not with observation: Neither shall they say: Behold here or behold there. For lo, the kingdom of God is within you." (Luke xvii: 20, 21.) Such certainly is not the Socialistic commonwealth. This kingdom is then described more in detail, as it exists within the souls of the just: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but justice, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." (Rom. xiv: 17.) No answer of any modern apologist could strike home more directly against the Marxian philosophy, which is all ultimately reducible to a question of "meat and drink," to the food problem, on which religion, like every other institution, is made dependent, both for its origin and its development.

That Christianity cannot well be preached to hungry people is a fact the Church does not ignore. Much less has she ever disregarded the practice of the corporal works of mercy. At all times she has been foremost in relieving the wants of the world, denouncing the selfishness of greed, and insisting upon economic justice for all. Yet charity and justice towards our fellow-man, she well knows, are the necessary fruit of the love of God within the soul, while without this all the works which economic Christianity preaches, making of them the sum and total of religion, can avail us nothing for even the least degree of grace upon earth or of glory hereafter: "And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." (I Cor. xiii: 3.)

The kingdom of God is, therefore, in its first significance something inward and invisible. It implies, indeed, a revolution, but such as Socialism never dreamed of in its philosophy. It requires even far more—a complete re-birth. But all this in a purely spiritual sense: "Amen, amen I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is spirit. Wonder not that I said to thee, you must be born again." (John, iii: 5-7.)

II.—VISIBLE KINGDOM OF GOD: THE CHURCH

This passage affords us an admirable transition from the kingdom of God within us, as explained by a new and spiritual birth, to that larger kingdom upon earth, which Christ in countless places indicates to be His Church, and of which we become members by "water and the Holy Ghost," that is by the Sacrament of Baptism. This, too, is described by our Lord as spiritual in its nature, since participation in it is possible only to those born into a supernatural life by the Spirit of God; but it is no less truly visible in its sacramental condition.

As man is composed of a visible body and an invisible soul, so too we may regard this kingdom of God upon earth as similarly constituted. It is visible in its rulers whom Christ appointed to govern it for all times, the apostles and their successors. It is visible in its preaching of the Gospel and its unity of faith over all the face of the earth and to the end of time. "Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." (Matt. xxviii: 19, 20.) It is visible in its Sacraments, which like the Church are to endure for all ages, "Do this for a commemoration of Me." (Luke xxii: 19.) It is visible likewise in the special sense that it can be distinguished from all other societies by certain characteristic notes indicated in the Scriptures: the unity, sanctity, universality and apostolicity which are verified only in the Catholic Church.

Besides this Church, which has remained unchanged since the days when Christ founded it upon Peter and promised it should overcome all the assaults of its enemies, there is no other institution left to us by our Lord. In it alone is offered the holy sacrifice of the Mass, that great central act of worship foretold by Malachias and instituted for His kingdom by Christ: "For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to My name a clean oblation: for My name is great among the Gentiles." (Malachias, i: 11.)

But as the body is less than the soul, so likewise the greatness of the kingdom of God consists not in its visible, but in its invisible elements. As the body is for the soul, so the visible things of the kingdom are for the invisible; the means we behold exist for the effects which we can only dimly see: the sanctification of souls and the plenitude of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. "All the glory of the king's daughter is within."

Here, therefore, is the reason for the denial made by our Lord of the worldly character of His kindom, as if in direct anticipation of the modern heresies which He foresaw in His omniscience, and which are nothing more than a repetition of the false expectations entertained by the Jews, who looked for a temporal king to free them from the Roman domination. Solemnly, in the presence of the Roman governor, Christ disclaimed all such purposes and for all time defined the true nature of His kingdom: "My kingdom is not of this world. If My kingdom were of this world, My servants would certainly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now My kingdom is not from hence."

In these words He not only denies the temporal and earthly nature of His kingdom, but likewise emphasizes this denial by the proof He offers. Had He gathered about Him a revolutionary following some concerted attempt would certainly have been made to free Him from His enemies, as He himself said. This argument fully convinced the Roman representative that there was no question of insurrection or even of insubordination in the life of the Prisoner before him.

Christ went still farther and recognized the authority of God even in Pilate, this most unworthy bearer of a power which he possessed only to abuse it: "Thou shouldst have no power against Me, unless it were given thee from above." (John, xiv: 11.) He commanded obedience to the very Scribes and Pharisees, worked a miracle to pay the tribute, and firmly declared to those who strove to win from Him an approval of revolutionary doctrine: "Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things that are God's." So likewise His apostles after Him taught the same lesson. Wives, we are told, are to be subject to their husbands, while husbands must love their wives as Christ loves His mystical spouse, the Church. Servants are to obey their masters, not serving, however, for the love of man, but for the love of God, while masters, too, are bound to be no less mindful of the account they must render to the common Lord of all. He

is the sole Master Whom alone we serve in submitting to all rightful authority of men.

This teaching does not exclude, but rather, as we shall see, postulates the highest service to mankind, even in the material order. We have here contented ourselves with showing that no doctrine could be less revolutionary or more directly opposed to the Socialistic spirit than that of the Kingdom of God.

The visible kingdom of God upon earth, as we have shown, is the Catholic Church. That all who belong to it are not living in a manner worthy of their high vocation we can readily admit. Christ Himself had foretold this fact in no doubtful terms: "Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together all kinds of fishes." (Matt. xiii: 47.) The good are preserved, the bad are cast forth. So, we are told, it will be at the end of the world, when the angels separate the wicked from the just. It is compared once more to the wise and the foolish virgins. "Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins." The wise, as the Fathers interpret this parable for us, provide their lamps with the oil of good works; but the foolish have gone after their own desires, and when the bridegroom comes, when death summons them, are excluded from the eternal bridal feast. (Matt. xxv.)

III.—THE KINGDOM OF GLORY

Here we evidently enter upon a new phase of the kingdom of God, which now becomes the kingdom of glory. Exclusion from this is the most terrible threat held out by our Lord: "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," He says, "when you shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourself thrust out. And there shall come from the east and the west, and the north and the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." (Luke, xiii: 28, 29.)

Admission into it is made especially dependent upon that

virtue of charity which throughout Socialist literature is so strongly condemned, and because of which the religious orders of mercy are particularly pursued by Socialism with a relentless hatred. "Charity," says a Christian Socialist exponent of this doctrine, "is twice cursed—it hardens him that gives and softens him that takes. It does more harm to the poor than exploitation, because it makes them willing to be exploited. It breeds slavishness, which is moral suicide." (*White, The Call of the Carpenter.*) This is a perfect expression of Socialist doctrine; but it is not the teaching of Christ, Whose insistence upon charity is unremitting. Only for the purpose of promoting revolution does Socialist philosophy permit the bestowing of alms. They are then to be distributed with a blare of trumpets, like the alms of the Pharisees, for else they could not serve their political ends. "But when thou doest alms," says Our Lord, "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth." (Matt. vi: 3.) There is here no revolutionary motive.

In the kingdom of glory is finally to be found the completion of the kingdom of God, which, from first to last, is spiritual and supernatural, "not of this world," as Christ defines it. While the concept of the invisible kingdom of God within us blends harmoniously, as we have seen, with the idea of that widely extended and visible kingdom, which is the Catholic Church, these two together merge once more into the kingdom of glory as their final consummation.

Even here upon earth, however, we have in the Catholic and Scriptural doctrine of the Communion of Saints, the complete expression, in a manner, of that eternal kingdom over which Christ came into the world to reign, as the prophets had foretold:

"You are come to Mount Sion," says Saint Paul to the newly converted Christian, in a language transcending all human words and thought, "and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels, and to the church of the first-born, who are written in the heavens, and to the God, the judge of all, and

to the spirits of the just made perfect, and to Jesus, the Mediator of the New Testament, and to the sprinkling of blood, which speaketh better than that of Abel. . . . Therefore, receiving an immoveable kingdom, we have grace; whereby let us serve, pleasing God, with fear and reverence." (Hebr., xii: 22 sq.)

Before this vision how utterly the phantoms of revolution fade away and the imagined Marxian commonwealth becomes an insubstantial fabric woven of the mists and darkness of the human mind, as at last the dream is scattered, and the night is lifted, and the true glory of the kingdom of God among men is revealed in all its wonder to the aching human sight. What then shall be that ecstacy reserved to us in the joy of those "eternal years," when we at length shall see no longer, as now we behold, "through a glass" darkly, but even as we ourselves are seen, "face to face" with God.

Of all this Socialism and its allied philosophies would rob the souls of men. Through the windows they enter into the house of life—under pretence of purely economic considerations—and thence quietly steal away the one treasure which it is death to lose, which the glory and power and riches of all the world could never buy.

IV.—OTHER-WORLDLINESS

The first lesson taught us in the Gospel is to turn our eyes from this little speck of earth on which we dwell, this atom whirling in its narrow orbit round the sun, this mote among the starry universes, and to lift them up to higher things, to the great immortal destiny for which we were created. "Therefore if you be risen with Christ, seek the things that are above; where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God: Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon earth. For you are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God." (Col. iii: 1, 2.)

This other-worldiness, despised alike by Socialism and indi-

vidualistic capitalism, but most constantly insisted upon by Christ and His Church, does not, as our opponents imagine, conflict with even the least of our duties to humanity. It is, on the contrary, meant to be the most potent stimulus for the perfect fulfilment of them. It is because each moment is large with possibilities for eternity, and because these are to be realized here upon earth in faith and hope and charity and in all good works, that the saints have ever been the greatest benefactors of their race.

When the heroic saint of Avila determined to found a convent of her order, with only four ducats in her possession, the rashness of the undertaking was on all sides urged upon her. "Four ducats and Teresa," she responded, with characteristic faith and energy, "four ducats and Teresa are nothing; but four ducats, Teresa and God are more than is necessary."

The Church in America to-day, with its strenuous activities and glorious progress in every field, arousing the envy and hatred of bigotry on all sides, is a living argument of this incontestable truth. "To-day we see a great Church in our midst," wrote a non-Catholic writer in the *Outlook* some years ago, "the greatest of all our churches for the substance of power already won." Rightly he then points to its "prospering vigorous work on so great a constructive scale that no such labors have been seen since the great ages of the friars. Here everywhere are rising cathedrals, churches, schools, seminaries, monasteries, convents and hospitals,—largely endowed by the pennies of the poor. The American business air pervades community and clerical life." It is life filled with loyalty to country, and animated with zeal for all true science and philanthropy, because inspired solely by the love of God.

The world is indeed a stage and each man's part is assigned to him, which he is to act to the best of his ability. It matters little what for the short hour that part may have been when death at last rings down the curtain on our lives, and all the trappings of our state and rank are cast aside forever, purple and rags alike, and we stand but as creatures before the

Creator, all equally awaiting the judgment which must decide our fate for an eternity of bliss or woe.

Such teaching, we are well aware, is denounced by Socialists, "Christian," so-called, and un-Christian alike, as capitalistic and reactionary. In fact, however, it is neither. It is only the plain doctrine of Christ, as much opposed to the pagan principles of many of our modern kings of commerce and industry as to the no less pagan spirit at the heart of our present Socialistic agitation.

Other-worldliness, when rightly understood, is but the consummation of heroic charity, of love for God and for our neighbor, of complete self-sacrifice for our fellow man, which finds its perfect expression in the perpetual consecration of the religious life. It is because the good that now we do to our neighbor will at the last day be accepted as done for Christ Himself, that oppression has nowhere been opposed so bravely and unselfishly, or charity practiced so lavishly and purely, as within the fold of the Catholic Church. Than her, labor can never know a more sincere and constant friend.

"The things of earth," says Pope Leo XIII, "cannot be understood or valued aright without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will know no death. Exclude the idea of futurity, and forthwith the very notion of what is good and right would perish; nay, the whole scheme of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery. The great truth which we learn from Nature herself is also the grand Christian dogma on which Religion rests as on its foundation—that when we have given up this present life, then shall we really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting: He has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our abiding-place. As for riches and other things which men call good and desirable, whether we have them in abundance, or lack them altogether—so far as eternal happiness is concerned—it matters little; *the only important thing is to use them aright.*"

XIII

COMMUNISM IN THE EARLY CHURCH

THE communism of the early Church is the source of endless confusion in Socialist literature. It is alleged as the most convincing proof of the revolutionary character of the kingdom of Christ. The Saviour's mission is interpreted as a vast proletarian agitation for the founding of a cooperative commonwealth in opposition to the established system of private ownership in the means of production.

Rufus Weeks speaks of the kingdom which Christ came to found as the era "when the established relation of men to each other in the matter of getting a living shall become that of cooperation." After an imposing disquisition upon the word *metanoiesthe* in the passage, "Repent for the kingdom of God is at hand," he straightway assigns the following interpretation to this message of the new order: "Revolutionize your ideas for the era of cooperation is at hand." (*The Socialism of Jesus.*)

Great stress is therefore laid in the Christian-Socialist theory upon that communism which was optionally practiced in a limited section of the early Church. It was because of this, we are told, and not because of any religious convictions on the part of the first Christians, that the persecutions were carried on against them by the Roman capitalists, who saw in this class-conscious Christian "community of production for use" the greatest danger to the system of profits. At last, according to Strobell and others, the capitalistic nobility achieved through cunning the present industrial oppression of the people by means of the very Church they had hitherto been combating. This, they say, took place under the reign of the Emperor Constantine.

"By a seeming surrender," writes Strobell, "and by loading

the Church organization with wealth and power, they overthrew its democratic character, so that it became, and has generally been since, a supporter of class rule and of the usual exploitation of the masses by slavery, rent, interest and profit." (*A Christian View of Socialism, p.* 28.) "The dominant element," says Brown, "in that Church during all these centuries since Constantine has been that social class which exists solely on the exploitation of another class and can, therefore, have no use for brotherhood. So the revolutionary religion of Jesus could mean nothing at all." (*Socialism and Primitive Christianity, p.* 11.)

The falsity of the entire contention should have been sufficiently evident from the fact that the communistic practice in question was absolutely optional for each individual, and so differed essentially from Socialism, which is to be made compulsory. Speaking of the price of the land held back by Ananias, Peter said: "Whilst it (the land) remained, did it not remain to thee, and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" He could have kept the land, the apostle indicates, or after selling it was free to keep the price of it; but his sin was solely in the lie spoken "to the Holy Ghost." The communism of the early Christians was, moreover, restricted to a small portion of the Church, and soon proved itself, like all similar attempts, an economic failure, so that the apostle was forced to beg alms from the non-communistic congregations. Instead of being the one object of the teaching of Christ, it did not even enter into His doctrine, except as a counsel, which those who felt in their hearts the promptings of the Holy Spirit might follow out by leaving all things to follow Christ in holy poverty. This is done even to-day in every religious community within the Catholic Church.

No evidence of Communism, practiced in general by the faithful, exists outside the Church of Jerusalem, and yet the Church of Christ, as the Scripture teaches, must be universal for all the world and universally the same. If Communism had belonged to its doctrine it must have been observed every-

where and at all times. In the Græco-Roman communities there were merely treasuries kept for the poor, to which those who were possessed of the goods of this world gave according to their devotion, as Justin tells us in his Apology (c. 67). In taking up his collection for the needy Church of Jerusalem, Saint Paul wrote in his second letter to the Corinthians: "I speak not as commanding; but by the carefulness of others, approving also the good disposition of your charity." (viii: 8.)

There was no other distribution of worldly possessions taught by Christ except that donation to the poor by way of alms which is made under no compulsion, but from the spirit of that Christian charity which the apostle strives to instill, and which has nothing in common with a compulsory Socialistic commonwealth. "In this present time let your abundance supply their want," he writes, "that their abundance may also supply your want, that there may be an equality. As it is written: He that has much, had nothing over: and he that had little had no want." (II Cor., viii: 14, 15.) This is the ideal condition of Christian life, where only the spirit of charity—"I speak not as commanding"—inspires liberality and begets equality of brotherhood and unity of membership in Christ.

The communism practiced at Jerusalem was, moreover, essentially different from that spoken of in modern literature. It was not a community ownership of the means of production, but only of the means of consumption. The thought of the future world, which was so vivid in the minds of the early Christians, and the expectation of the sudden coming of Christ in judgment made all earthly things appear trivial and nothing worth. Nevertheless each was free to follow the promptings of his own zeal. The apostles, even at Jerusalem, exercised no compulsion, nor is there the slightest evidence to show that they were more than passive in regard to this entire movement, which had its birth in the first fervor of the early Christians, and certainly was not in any wise according to worldly wisdom. We here quote the passages taken from the Acts of the

Apostles which describe the communism of the Christian community of Jerusalem:

"And they were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of bread, and in prayers.

"And fear came upon every soul: many wonders also and signs were done by the apostles in Jerusalem, and there was great fear in all.

"And all they that believed, were together, and had all things in common.

"Their possessions and goods they sold, and divided them to all, according as every one had need.

"And continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart;

"Praising God, and having favor with all the people. And the Lord increased daily together such as should be saved." (Acts, ii: 42-47.)

"And the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul: neither did any one say that aught of the things which he possessed, was his own; but all things were common unto them.

"And with great power did the apostles give testimony of the resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord; and great grace was in them all.

"For neither was there any one needy among them. For as many as were owners of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold,

"And laid it down before the feet of the apostles. And distribution was made to every one, according as he had need." (Acts, iv: 32-36.)

To complete the picture we have but to add the words of Peter to Ananias, who after selling his land pretended to be giving the full price of it to the apostles, while in reality he kept back part of the money. This fraud met with instant

punishment from the hand of Almighty God, to Whom alone that lie had been spoken:

"But Peter said: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Ghost, and by fraud keep part of the price of the land?

"Whilst it remained, did it not remain to thee? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thy heart? Thou hast not lied to men, but to God." (Acts, v: 3, 4.)

The communism, therefore, of the early Christians was not an industrial enterprise of a revolutionary character, but a renunciation of earthly possessions, which were regarded as a clog upon the spiritual life and cast off in order that the soul might devote itself undisturbed to the reception of its Lord in Holy Communion, to prayer and religious exercises. It was not a communal method of production consisting in the joint ownership of lands, stores, workshops and manufactories of every kind; but only a voluntary surrender of the accumulated earnings or patrimonies of individuals, who thenceforth made themselves dependent upon a common fund, which was soon exhausted and necessitated a call upon the charity of the Christians of the other communities which had not adopted this plan. The very means of production, as the Acts directly state, the lands themselves instead of being held in common were sold and the money given to the apostles for distribution. Nothing could be less Socialistic, nothing farther removed from the imagined insurrectionary movement. It was a brotherhood in Christ for the salvation and perfection of all its members. So far from desiring the Marxian expropriation of all capital, they wished only to free themselves from all encumbrance with it, yet placed upon no one, whether within or without the fold, any obligation of doing likewise: "Whilst it remained, did it not remain to thee? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" These words we can not too strongly emphasize. They are the key to the entire problem.

To prove the teaching of Christ to have been Socialistic it

must be shown that He actually advocated the expropriation of the Roman capitalists, or at least proposed the doctrine of compelling them to yield up their productive property, whether with or without compensation. This alone is essential Socialism from its economic side. Yet of such methods there is not one word or syllable in all the gospels. Meanwhile, the inconsistency of Socialists is shown in their opposition to the only communities that carry out to the very letter the free communistic doctrine of Christ, which consists in each individually yielding up his own property and not molesting others who show no desire to do likewise. Should Socialists care to follow this example the Church will place no obstacle in their way.

How little comfort, therefore, is to be found for Christian Socialists in the practice of that portion of the early Church, which strove to free itself of worldly goods in order that it might devote itself more exclusively to heavenly things, is too evident to require further comment. A quotation from the Scripture scholar Harnack, who certainly is not partial to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, may here be given as the final word of impartial critical investigation into this question. In the second volume of his work, *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* (1911), he thus expresses his conclusions upon this subject. They are the verdict of the entire scientific world:

"Whoever is equipped with a thorough knowledge of history and so approaches the picture which Socialist dogmatists have drawn of the early Christianity of the Church, can no longer recognize it. A monstrosity has been put into its place, and not even an interesting one at that. He beholds merely the well-known bloodless shadow which, in spite of its enormous stomach, has existed in no period, because it has neither head nor heart. This, nevertheless, they would persuade us is the one living thing in all history.

"The judgment, which has only recently been passed upon, the preaching and origin of the gospel by Kautsky and Kalthoff, is most abominable. It is without any regard whatever for genuine facts drawn from authentic sources. It is

without any understanding of the independence and strength of religion and ethical ideas. The gospel, consequently, is represented by it as merely a proletarian Socialistic movement, as one of the everlastingly ancient economic phenomena." (*pp.* 255 *and* 259.)

So by faith, science and history alike Christian Socialism stands forever repudiated in the intellectual and religious world.

The difference between the true communism of the early Church and the false communism which would enter into comparison with it is perhaps nowhere so perfectly described, with such truth and warmth and color, as in a sermon preached by Bishop Ketteler for the feast of Pentecost.

"There must be something great about community of temporal goods," he exclaimed, "seeing that it was one of the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost. But how different was this communism in the first Christian Church from its caricature in our days. The men who practised community of goods in those days were vessels of the Holy Ghost. Through the Holy Ghost they had become one heart and one soul, and the owners of lands and houses sold these of their own free will and laid the price at the feet of the Apostles. Hence St. Peter said to Ananias, who had lied to him as to the price of the land: 'Whilst it remained, did it not remain to thee? And after it was sold, was it not in thy power?" But now those who speak of community of goods are not men filled with the Spirit of God, but with the spirit which the world serves. They do not want to give up what is their own, but to rob others of what by right belongs to them. In those days the idea of community of goods sprang from the spirit of love, whereas now it springs from the spirit of avarice. It is the giant task of our age to fill up again the abyss that divides the rich from the poor, and woe to us if it is not filled up: years will come compared to which the year forty-eight was only a childish plaything. But this abyss can be filled up only by the same Spirit who wrought in the first Christian community."

XIV

WAGE SYSTEM IN THE GOSPEL

THE parables are the special expression of Christ's teaching concerning His kingdom. Their subject is clearly indicated by our Lord Himself to be "The mysteries of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xiii: 11). It will be instructive, therefore, to turn to them for an illustration of His attitude towards the central aim of modern revolutionism.

The immediate object of Socialism is the abolition of the wage system. No movement which is not primarily directed at the accomplishment of this purpose can be spoken of as Socialistic. "We are organized for one purpose," says the *Call*, "that of obtaining control of the machinery of government and using it for the emancipation of the working class. We intend to take from the capitalist class every last one of the social tools of production. We intend to use those tools for the benefit of the producers themselves. We are bent on absolute revolution, the complete overturn of the present system, the annihilation of classes, the wiping out of national boundaries, the obliteration of race prejudices and race handicaps, and we shall do it through the overthrow of the wage system." (*June* 2, 1912.)

Socialism has likewise ulterior motives whose practical expression can be found in the anti-Catholic demonstrations we have had occasion to witness in every part of the world; but with them we are not concerned at present.

The wage system, which we here consider in the light of the parables, is undoubtedly not to be regarded as a divine institution which under no circumstances can ever be set aside. But its abolition in any instance, if desirable, must be authorized by the laws of justice. The mere will of the majority, disposing at its pleasure of what in nowise belongs to it, as

would be the case under Socialism, is utterly insufficient. To see, therefore, how free of all revolutionary purpose is the teaching of Christ, we need only turn to those passages of the Gospels that indicate His attitude towards this important problem of our times.

The system of wages, we find, occupies no inconsiderable place in the parables expounding the mysteries of the kingdom. While the economic question as such is never considered, except from its religious side, yet the position taken by Christ towards the existing order of His day is most clearly defined and altogether unmistakable.

Turning to the Gospel written by St. Matthew we read: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a householder, who went out early in the morning to hire laborers into his vineyard." At different hours of the day he goes forth to engage them, and to each he gives what he considers a just pay for a full day's labor. Christ does not offer this parable as a justification for any economic system; but He nevertheless gives us a plain indication of the peaceful nature of His mission by accepting the existing conditions as the setting for His lesson, without breathing one word of revolution, which no Socialist agitator could refrain from doing.

Again God is pictured by Him as the "householder," the owner of a vineyard, who "lets it out to husbandmen," corresponding somewhat to the tenant workers in our day. In His own divine person He once more represents that system, the destruction of which Socialists pretend was His sole, or at least His prime, mission. We draw from all this, as before, no argument for the system itself, as if to establish it by divine authority; but we can not fail to see how utterly different from the Christ of modern revolutionism is the Christ of the Gospel.

The tenants in this last parable resolve to act upon Socialistic principles—setting aside violence—in as far as they are determined to obtain possession of the soil which they are tilling. It is the same purpose that Socialism proposes on a

larger scale. With Marx as their text they could not have acted more consistently. The agrarian program adopted at the national convention (1912), which states that "actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land," would, moreover, have fully sustained their position. Our Lord, however, clearly taught another lesson and insists upon the right of the owner to retain his possession, to transmit it to his heir, and to reap just profits from what he has invested, provided always that due remuneration is given to labor.

We need not carry the analogy farther, to the beating and stoning of the servants who come to demand the rental or the master's portion, and the killing of the heir who will not yield up his inheritance. Yet such, as Marx and others plainly admit, would be the result were Socialism ever to enforce its robbery in the name of a political majority. Some, we know, speak of offering compensation; but this would be impossible, and if possible, would be impracticable. It certainly would never be attempted, since no logical Socialist ever has, or ever can, insist upon any moral obligation to offer purchase money for the social means of production.

Of the rebellious husbandmen in the Gospel, who begin with Socialistic principles, and end in violence, as Socialism, despite all its protests, must finally end, and as its favorite ideal, the French Revolution, likewise ended, Christ has only this to say: "He will bring those evil men to an evil end: and he will let out his vineyard to other husbandmen, that shall render him fruit in due season." (Matt. xxi: 41.) It is especially to be borne in mind that Christ here represented Himself as the son of the owner of the vineyard. Any such identification would be impossible for the Christ of Socialism and modern revolutionary Christianity.

The same observations may be made upon the parable of the talents, where the members of the kingdom of God upon earth are represented under the figure of servants to whom the master commits his money and from whom he expects an adequate return. So we might continue with illustrations.

drawn by Christ from the existing social conditions with never one insurrectionary lesson, but many to the contrary.

On the other hand, the Scriptures are no less strongly insistent upon the duties of the employer to the laborer engaged by him. The spirit of Christ in its scathing denunciation of all those who possess their wealth only for the gratification of their ambition, lust and avarice, can never be expressed more strongly than in the words of Saint James, which Socialists delight to quote, but which contain nothing more than the lesson daily taught by the Catholic Church:

"Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries, which shall come upon you.

"Your riches are corrupted: and your garments are moth-eaten.

"Your gold and silver is cankered: and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days.

"Behold the hire of the laborers, who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth: and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (James, v: 1-4.)

Even here it is to be noticed that there is no condemnation of the system of wages. The crime of the rich men condemned in language so terrible is the sin of defrauding the laborer of his hire, a sin which cries to heaven for vengeance. It is, moreover, the sin for which Dives is condemned to the eternal fires of hell, because he lived in luxury while his heart was closed to the voice of God and to the cry of the poor, and the very dogs showed greater pity than he.

There is in the kingdom of God no place for the revolutionist. Neither, however, is there the slightest justification extended in it to the capitalist who exists only for the amassing of riches, and not for the service of God and his neighbor. Such a man Christ describes in His parable of the rich fool. Though his barns were filled to bursting, and his treasures

hoarded up in safety, he thought only of his own selfish satisfaction.

"Thou fool," is the sentence pronounced upon him, "this night do they require thy soul of thee: and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? So is he that layeth up treasures for himself and is not rich towards God." (Luke, xii: 20, 21.)

XV

SCRIPTURE THOUGHTS ON WEALTH

CENTRAL in the discussion of the social question, wherever recourse is had to Scripture authority, is the attitude of Jesus towards poverty and wealth. It is here especially that His revolutionary doctrine is said to be expressed. "He was," wrote Renan, "an anarchist in certain respects, for he did not admit the civil power, but considered it an abuse. His doctrine was pure Ebionism, that is to say, a belief according to which only the poor could be saved. He forgave the rich man, but only when the latter had been ill-treated and cast out by the society to which he belonged." (*Life of Jesus.*) Christ's conception of the world, Renan concludes, "was Socialism tinged with a Galilean spirit."

Similar doctrine may be found in countless non-Catholic writers, and even an Italian economist, claiming to expound the Catholic view, states that, "Poverty has become an indispensable condition for entrance into the kingdom of heaven." Quotations might here be multiplied at pleasure; it will be sufficient to give a summary of these contentions from one of the most conserative of American Christian Socialists.

"The topic around which the greater number of Jesus' sayings cluster," writes Rev. Rufus Weeks, "is the movement which He started, and which He called 'the kingdom of heaven.' . . . The conditions of entry into this movement we find laid down with great clearness and force, not as arbitrary requirements, but as founded on the nature of things. The most noteworthy point is that only the poor were invited; they were expressly told, indeed, that the movement belonged to them. The rich, on the other hand, were notified that they were not eligible, except on the incredible condition of giving away all their property to the needy—a condition admitted by

Jesus to be, though inevitable, so hard that it would be a miracle for even one rich person to comply." (*The Socialism of Jesus.*)

The favorite allusion is here made to the saying of Our Lord, that, "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." (Matt., xviv: 23.) The words which follow in explanation are, however, always omitted. "The things that are impossible with men, are possible with God."

We are dealing here with an oriental proverb which, like similar English expressions, is to be taken in its evident figurative sense, and indicates the very great and undeniable difficulty for a rich man to be saved. Riches contain in them the means and often the direct incentive for sins of every nature. They do not expose us only to a single danger, but to an entire host of temptations at once.

But neither must we disregard what Our Lord Himself has taught, that what is here "impossible with men" is nevertheless "possible with God"; that by fervent prayer, liberal alms and works of true Christian charity the rich can obtain the grace which will enable them to overcome all inordinate attachment to their wealth and to conquer the dangers inherent therein. They can even, like Saint Louis or Saint Elizabeth, attain to the crown of sanctity. This is the meaning of those other words of Christ, found likewise in Saint Luke, "And I say to you: Make unto you friends of the mammon of iniquity." (xiv: 9.) Thus some by employing their riches in accordance with the will of God, as others by enduring their poverty for love of Him, shall be received into those "everlasting dwellings" described by Christ, for whose enjoyment we have all been created and for whose attainment riches and poverty are in themselves indifferent means.

Few there are undoubtedly who possess great wealth and keep their hearts detached from it, using it only as the stewards of God, remembering that although they have the right of ownership, yet they have in no sense the free disposal of it

according to their own good pleasure; but that they have a strict duty to give to the indigent out of their superfluity. "Yet that which remaineth, give alms" (Luke, ix: 41.) This both shows that all worldly goods need not be surrendered to the poor, and that, while keeping what is reasonably required for each one's condition in life, we must likewise see to the wants of others.

In the incident of the rich young man, which is constantly called to our mind by economic writers, Christ responds to the question, "What good shall I do that I may have life everlasting?" by a series of commandments whose fulfillment is to secure salvation; but no mention is made of the renunciation of wealth, which should have been given the first place if Socialist contentions were true. To all the young man can sincerely answer, "All these have I kept from my youth, what is yet wanting to me?" Only then Christ urges the counsel, "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come follow me." (Matt., xviv: 21.)

The surrender of all earthly goods is therefore shown by Our Lord to be no absolute and general condition for salvation, but is imposed by Him upon those who would follow Him more closely in the capacity of apostles. Even the pious women who ministered to Him were permitted, as the Scripture indicates, to retain their possessions. The great renunciation, in a word, is counselled as a means of perfection and not imposed as a command upon all.

Nothing, moreover, could be more completely opposed to Socialistic principle than the manner in which it was to be made. The riches were not to be discarded in favor of a co-operative commonwealth or for revolutionary purposes, but were to be distributed in alms—a practice, as we have elsewhere shown, most completely at variance with Socialistic doctrine, which regards the giving of alms for other than revolutionary ends as the most insidious method which capitalism can employ to ensure the continuation of its system of ex-

ploitation. Though most urgently commanded by Our Lord, it is denounced by Socialists as taking the edge from rebellion and delaying the coming of the social revolution. The unqualified insistence upon the giving of alms throughout the Old and New Testament alike is, therefore, in itself a complete contradiction of modern revolutionary claims, and a justification of riches where the heart is not attached to them and they are not selfishly used. "If thou have much, give abundantly; if thou have little, take care even to bestow willingly a little," says Tobias (iv: 9.) But to those who are ready to accept His counsel Our Lord speaks still a far greater word: "Sell what you possess and give alms. Make to yourselves bags which grow not old, a treasure in heaven which faileth not: where no thief approacheth, nor moth corrupteth." (Luke, xii: 33.)

One of the Gospel incidents most frequently referred to by modern agitators is that wherein Christ is described as casting out "all them that sold and brought in the temple." (Matt., xxi: 12.) With the usual want of religious reverence, Socialism is pictured as the "savior of to-day," scourge in hand, driving forth capitalism and its allied evils from the "temple of life." Yet Our Lord Himself pointed out that it was zeal for the house of God which made Him forbid its profanation. At the same time he condemned the injustice of the men through whom the Sadducees or Pharisees are said to have carried on a disgraceful business practice, which in plain English parlance would be known as a most infamous and sacrilegious graft. To deduce, therefore, from His words, "My house shall be called the house of prayer; but you have made of it a den of thieves," a sweeping condemnation of the entire existing system of distribution is a characteristic method of Socialistic argumentation.

In the parable of the talents we might argue, on the other hand, He tacitly accepts this system, making Almighty God Himself the master who commits his wealth to his servants to turn it to profit and they "traded with the same." (Matt., xxv:

16.) Little as we desire to draw from this parable a conclusion favoring any particular economic system, it makes none the less evident to any impartial observer how far from the mind of Our Lord were the revolutionary motives ascribed to Him.

We shall add here another Scripture narrative which, like others of a similar nature, is sought for in vain in Socialist literature. It is taken from the Acts of the Apostles and deals with a character of great importance in the early Church, the centurion Cornelius of Cæsarea. He is described as "a religious man, and fearing God with all his house, giving much alms to the people, and always praying to God." For this God calls him miraculously into the Church, by a vision of an angel, who thus assigns the reason of these favors: "Thy prayers and thy alms are ascended for a memorial in the sight of God." (x: 4.) Besides the crime of giving alms, which Christian Socialism tells us is "doubly cursed," he is guilty of that other wickedness of being rich. For when "the angel who spoke to him departed, he called two of his household servants," the Scripture continues, implying that these were only a portion of "all his house," and a "soldier who feared the Lord, of them that were under him."

This man, therefore, a rich and prosperous Roman commander, whose heart was with God in prayer and whose affections went out in liberal alms to the poor, was chosen as an instrument of Providence in breaking down the fear which Peter had still entertained, of consorting with the uncircumcized. The wonder, however, of those who attended the Prince of the Apostles was not, as we learn from the Scripture, that God should shower the gifts of the Holy Spirit upon the rich, but only that He should bestow such favors upon the Gentiles. Cornelius the Centurion, made worthy by the Holy Ghost "to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," was a rich man, but one possessed of all the fullness of that poverty of spirit to which Christ promises the kingdom of heaven. His first thought was not for earthly possessions, but for God and his fellow man.

This particular subject of the attitude of Scripture towards rich and poor we shall consider more in detail in the following chapter.

Far from us is the desire to mitigate even in the least the teaching of Christ in regard to wealth, or to lessen the awful seriousness of those warnings from His divine lips which tell of the dangers to which it exposes the soul. The words of the Saviour to His apostles after the sad refusal of the youth who preferred his wealth to his vocation, and who like many another since his day chose rather to imperil his salvation than give up all and follow Christ, can not be too often or too deeply pondered. They are a constant admonition to the rich who would misuse their riches, a consolation for the poor who perhaps too eagerly desire them, and finally a refutation for all who, through misguided passion and class hatred, would exclude from the kingdom of heaven, in spite of prayer, alms and the grace of God, those whom Christ Himself will receive to His Heart of love.

"Then Jesus said to His disciples: Amen, I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say to you: It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"And when they had heard this, the disciples wondered very much, saying: Who then can be saved? And Jesus beholding, said to them: With men this is impossible: but with God all things are possible." (Matt., xiv: 23-26.)

XVI

RICH AND POOR IN THE SCRIPTURES

THE Scripture texts most frequently quoted in Socialist literature are those which apparently contain a complete and universal condemnation of the rich, and a no less general promise of the kingdom of heaven for the poor.

Such interpretations would clearly prove too much. If all who possess wealth are meant to be included in the apparently unqualified phrase, "the rich," then evidently the same universal application is made in the balancing phrase, "the poor." Scoffers, blasphemers and atheists, thieves and murderers alike would be participators in the promises of God, provided only that they were poor, not in spirit, but in fact. Such conclusions, wild and untenable as they are, Socialist and other revolutionary writers do not in the least hesitate to draw, offering in extenuation the argument that the crimes of the poor must all be laid at the doors of the rich, and that according to economic determinism men are led under capitalism to the perpetation of these deeds, precisely as under Socialism they must inevitably ascend to the heights of virtue. Such degenerates therefore should be called unforunates rather than criminals, victims of existing society rather than aggressors against it.

The texts which lend themselves most readily to the purpose of the revolutionary agitator are those which we shall quote in part from Saint Luke and Saint James.

"And He lifting up His eyes on His disciples, said: Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are ye that hunger now: for you shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now: for you shall laugh. . . . But woe to you that are rich: for you have your consolation. Woe to you that are filled: for you shall hunger. Woe to you that now laugh: for you shall mourn and weep." (Luke, vi: 20, sq.)

The poverty here referred to is such as that practiced by the disciples, whom Our Lord had evidently in mind: "And He lifting up His eyes on His disciples said: Blessed are ye poor, etc." It is a poverty courted, or at least suffered, for the love of God. To maintain that independently of virtue or supernatural love, poverty could of itself merit the kingdom of heaven would be in direct contradiction to the entire Gospel. In the same manner the rich in question are those who, as the text shows, know but the good things and laughter of this life, such as Dives and the rich fool in the parable.

So likewise in that passage from the Epistle of Saint James, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you" (v: 1), the application is sufficiently limited by such accusations as the denial of just wages, "Behold the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth" (v: 4); the lives of immorality led by the Sadducees and Scribes and Pharisees, whom the apostle had particularly in mind, "in riotousness you have nourished your hearts" (v: 5); and especially the death of the Saviour plotted and contrived by them, "You have condemned and put to death the Just One" (v: 6). Not, therefore, the rich in general are here condemned, but the guilty rich, and not all the poor are given the special promise of the kingdom, but only the poor in spirit.

How little of revolutionary doctrine is contained in the passage quoted from Saint James is evident, moreover, from the special reference made in it to the patience of Job and its reward. Job is proposed by God Himself in the Old Testament as the model of a rich man. In him is verified, even before the day of Christ, that poverty of spirit which was to be preached for all times in the Sermon on the Mount. When all his possessions had been swept away, his servants and his children killed by storm and fire and sword, there came no complaint from his lips: "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away: as it hath pleased the Lord so is it done: blessed be the name of the Lord." (Job, i: 21.) And when he had

been struck in his own person with a grievous ulcer from head to foot, he patiently quieted the angry tongue of his wife: "Thou hast spoken like one of the foolish women: if we have received good things at the hand of God, why should we not receive evil?" But when the time of trial was passed God returned to him twofold all that he had lost. "And he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she asses. And he has seven sons and three daughters. . . . And there were none found so beautiful as the daughters of Job: and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren." (xlii: 12 sq.)

In the Old Testament the reward of virtue was less purely spiritual than in the New, and riches were not unfrequently bestowed by Almighty God upon the patriarchs and kings and holy men. But like other gifts, they were often abused by those who received them. Because Solomon had prayed wisely and pleased the Lord in the fervor of his young heart, he received not merely what his tongue had asked, but what his soul could desire for this life itself. "Yea and the things also which thou didst not ask, I have given thee: to wit, riches and glory." (III Kings, iii: 13.) Though meant for a blessing, he turned his wealth, like many a rich man after him, into the most terrible curse. "Riches are good to him that hath no sin in his conscience," says Ecclesiasticus (xiii: 30).

In the New Testament we find that it is rather the call to absolute poverty, and that contempt which is apt to rest in the eyes of the world upon the servants of God, which is offered as the highest blessing or reward. Because the rich young man was found pleasing in the sight of the Lord, as the youthful Solomon had delighted Him of old, He now held out poverty as His special grace, where before he had offered riches. Such was the change that came with the new dispensation of love which had supplanted that of fear. Such was the higher spiritual blessing reserved for the sons of the free woman, the Catholic Church, rather than for the favored sons of her that

in comparison was only the bond woman, the ancient Synagogue.

How, moreover, would it have been possible for men to practice this poverty and abnegation preached by Christ, without the example of a God, who Himself should practice it to enamour therewith the hearts of His chosen followers. Sufficient in the ancient convenant, except for some rarely favored souls, was that warning of the Psalmist, which to-day likewise is sufficient for the salvation of the rich: "If riches abound, set not your heart upon them." (Ps., lxi: 11.) But Christ not merely would have his follower prepared to "renounce all that he possesseth," but even to make the full sacrifice itself of his earthly goods, should God desire it. Daily this call goes forth to His favored ones. That it is not left unheeded the Catholic Church can bear abundant witness by the thousands of eager virgin souls who yearly troth themselves at the altar of God to their Bridegroom Christ, with the vows of a perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience, receiving from Him in turn the hundredfold of blessings here and life eternal hereafter. "Everyone that hath left house, or brethren, or sister, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting." (Matt., xix: 29.)

For a final answer to the Socialist objections we need only study the attitude of Christ towards those of the rich with whom He came into contact. They were of two classes, and because this distinction is forgotten all the confusion has arisen which exists at present in the mind of revolutionary writers.

Of the generation of Jews living in the day of Christ, the prophet had foretold that it should be especially noted for its wickedness, its luxury, its cruelty, its injustice, and its greed for wealth. Their own historian Josephus has unwittingly confirmed the truth of this prophecy in the picture he has left us of them. It was among the rich that these vices would naturally be prominent, and of them especially the prophet spoke, placing upon their lips the words of the atheist and

scoffer: "For we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been." From this principle they then draw their conclusions:

"Let none of us go without his part in luxury: let us everywhere leave tokens of our joy: for this is our portion, and this our lot. Let us oppress the poor just man, and not spare the widow, nor honor the ancient gray hairs of the aged. But let our strength be the law of justice: for that which is feeble, is found to be nothing worth." (Wisdom, ii: 8 sq.)

Against these rich men Christ was, therefore, to direct His divine wrath, calling them hypocrites, "because you devour the houses of widows, praying long prayers"; whited sepulchres, full within "of dead men's bones, and of all filthiness"; "serpents, generation of vipers, how will you flee from the judgment of hell?" All this had been no less clearly foretold in the words of the same prophecy:

"Let us, therefore, lie in wait for the Just," the prophet makes the men of that generation say, clearly indicating Christ as the Just One Whom he beheld in vision, "because He is not for our turn, and He is contrary to our doings, and upbraideth us with transgressions of the law, and divulgeth against us the sins of our way of life. He boasteth that He hath the knowledge of God, and calleth Himself the Son of God. . . . We are esteemed by Him as triflers, and He abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness . . . and glorieth that He hath God for His Father." What follows then describes the Sacred Passion and the "shameful death," with which they were to afflict Him, giving almost the very words that were later uttered beneath the Cross. "If He be the true Son of God, He will defend Him and deliver Him from the hands of His enemies."

We believe that no more need be said in explanation of the terrible and unsparing terms used by our Divine Saviour in speaking of this great class of the rich men of His day. But there were likewise good and God-fearing souls then, as always, among the men possessed of wealth. For them Christ

had only words of love, to them He brought the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and their riches were no offense in His sight. They were "poor in spirit" and clean of heart, doing God's work in the sphere of life in which He had placed them.

Such a man was Lazarus, at whose death Jesus wept tears of sincerest affection, whom He raised again to life, and in whose home He delighted to abide. Such a man was Nicodemus, to whom Jesus vouchsafed to reveal the mysteries of the kingdom, to foreshadow His future death upon the Cross, and to grant the grace of faith. Such men were Zacheus, who at least was prepared to make the fullest reparation for any past wrongs, and the Centurion, for whom the Jews pleaded, "he loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue," and of whom Christ gave the testimony, "Amen, I say to you, I have not found so great faith, not even in Israel." Even the father of the two apostles, who were always to be most dearly cherished by their Divine Master, had "hired men" and a ship from which Jesus might preach, or in which He might cross the sea. Nor was it without a special Providence that Christ should be laid by the Apostle in the tomb of Joseph, a "rich man of Arimathea." The Apostles similarly admitted the rich into the Church without demanding the sacrifice of their wealth, and used the hospitality of their homes for themselves and their fellow-Christians, as we could show from many Scripture passages, were there need of any further demonstration.

While, therefore, the affection of Our Lord was particularly given to the poor; while He chose poverty for Himself by preference, and for all who stood most near to Him; while He constantly warned His hearers against the exceedingly great dangers to which riches expose the soul, and while He punished with the most dreadful and severe rebuke those who unjustly extorted their gain from the poor or misused the wealth intrusted to them, yet in His heart He ever found place for those whom God had blessed with earthly goods, and who worthily fulfilled the duties of their own peculiar state of life. Not all are called to actual poverty, but all are called to that

"poverty of spirit," which may be wanting equally in the poor as in the rich, in those who are attached to wealth unduly, as in those who covet it too eagerly.

"For they that will become rich," says Saint Paul, "fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the *desire* of money is the root of all evil." (1 Tim., vi: 9, 10.)

Socialist authors and orators are often far from poor, and not a few are men of wealth and even millionaires. Yet they live upon the passions of envy and hatred which they strive to arouse in the hearts of the poor against the rich, and of subjects against all in authority. It is not an appeal to reason for the betterment of the lot of the poor, but a campaign of passion, whose cause is assigned in the words of the apostle, and whose end must be destruction.

XVII

DID CHRIST DISREGARD RIGHTS OF PROPERTY?

A FAVORITE subject with infidel and "Christian" Socialist agitators is the alleged disregard shown by Christ for private property. Three instances in particular are constantly brought to mind as convincing proof of this.

The first refers to that Sabbath journey of the Lord, when, "as He went through the corn fields, His disciples plucked the ears, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands." (Luke, vi: 1.) They were in a strange field, we are told, but the laws of property were not regarded by Christ as conveying any obligation. Treating them as purely capitalistic inventions, He ruthlessly set them aside at pleasure.

This difficulty answers itself if the verse immediately following is taken into account: "And some of the Pharisees said to them: 'Why do you that which is not lawful on the Sabbath day?'" Without reference, therefore, to any transgression of property rights the Pharisees alleged against Him only the violation of the Sabbath law. Most eager to seize upon even the most trivial apparent irregularity on the part of Christ, they could find no fault in His action except that the plucking and rubbing of the ears of corn was labor forbidden on the Sabbath day, according to their strained interpretation of the letter of the law. Jesus therefore had fully conformed both to the recognized custom and to the divine ordinance in this regard. The latter is most instructive for our day, and is thus expressed in Deuteronomy:

"Going into thy neighbor's vineyard, thou mayst eat as many grapes as thou pleasest; but must carry none out with thee. If thou go into thy friend's corn, thou mayst break the ears, and rub them in thy hand; but not reap them with a sickle." (Deut., xiii: 24, 25.) Such was the written law of old as

it held in the God-given legislation of the Jews. Such too is the unwritten law of charity which in Catholic countries established similar customs and which made of the monasteries the larders of the poor and the treasuries of all in need, where the monks gave freely what they had freely received. It was only indifference to the spirit and law of the Church, spreading through wide circles of lukewarm Christians, and the Reformation which followed it, that led to the present abnormal relations between rich and poor, for which there is no final remedy except a return to Catholic traditions. Neither under the Mosaic law nor in Catholic times it may incidentally be mentioned, was there any danger of an army of unemployed who might consume entirely both crops and vintage.

We may learn in fine from this passage of Deuteronomy how firmly the law of property rights is sustained by God in His legislation to His chosen people, precisely as it is sustained by Him to-day through His mouthpiece and representative on earth, the Vicar of Christ. Although the present need might be satisfied out of the neighbor's abundance, according to the Mosaic law, yet that neighbor's right of ownership remained sacred, and nothing might be carried off without his will.

That in the text quoted from Saint Luke there was question only of the Sabbath law is still more fully confirmed in the justification pronounced by Our Lord, which confines itself to the accusation brought against Him. "The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath." vi: 5.) The entire passage therefore shows that it was only against the Pharisaic interpretation of the Sabbath law that Christ had voluntarily acted, in order to teach the lesson which this incident was meant to convey: that man is not for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath is for man, and that Christ is the Lord of both man and the Sabbath.

He further confirms His teaching by the example of David: "Have you not read so much as this what David did, when himself was hungry, and they that were with him: How he went into the house of God and took and ate the bread of

proposition, and gave to them that were with him, which it is not lawful to eat but only for the priests?"

This incident of David was chosen by Christ as an even more striking illustration of the truth He meant to convey concerning the Sabbath and the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. The law of property, moreover, in this and similar cases, can offer no difficulty. It is accounted for by the plain doctrine of the Church, which teaches that a starving man may help himself freely from his neighbor's belongings, even against the latter's will, until he has satisfied his urgent want.

The second passage which is said to show the disregard of Christ for laws of private property is thus given by Saint Luke: "And it came to pass, when He was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethania, unto the mount called Olivet, He sent two of His disciples, saying: 'Go into the town which is over against you, at your entering into which you shall find the colt of an ass tied, on which no man ever hath sitten: loose him, and bring him hither. And if any man shall ask you: Why did you loose him? you shall say thus unto him: Because the Lord hath need of his service.'" (xix: 29-31.)

When the two disciples arrived the owners were actually present and asked the question Christ had indicated, "Why loose you the colt?" and the Apostles answered according to their instructions, "Because the Lord hath need of him."

Taking this narrative upon its face value and giving it a purely natural explanation, as Socialists do who deny the divinity of Christ, it is sufficient to say that since no objection is made by the owners we must suppose that arrangements had evidently been made with them beforehand. The colt, as is customary on such occasions, was to be held in readiness until the proper messengers should arrive whom Christ would send. The sign agreed upon, by which they were to be known, was the answer Christ instructed them to make: "Because the Lord hath need of his service." When this was given the owners fulfilled their part of the contract. It is to be noticed that these proprietors are indicated by a plural in the Scriptures, and

would therefore have been able to defend their property had there been question of any human violation of property rights. Their willingness to supply Our Lord with both the colt and its mother shows how untenable is the Socialistic position here as in the preceding instance.

But there is still another Gospel narrative to be considered, and with this we shall have answered the most important difficulties of this nature. Should others be offered they can easily be solved in a similar manner. We turn again to Saint Luke for our account.

When Christ was about to free a certain possessed man whom He found in the country of the Gerasens, it providentially happened that there was near by "a herd of many swine feeding on the mountain; and they (the evil spirits) besought Him that He would suffer them to enter into them. The devils therefore went out of the man and entered into the swine; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were stifled."

Were we to consider Christ on the Socialistic supposition as merely a man we would not be able to say that he had foreseen the loss of property which was to follow, and the objection would lose all its force. In fact, the entire incident dealing with obsession and the intimate presence of evil spirits would become meaningless. Why infidel "Christian" Socialists such as Spargo should concern themselves at all about the actions of Christ is unintelligible, except in as far as they hope by this method to capture the Christian vote. They well know how sadly they must distort the Gospel, and how much they must omit, to use it for their purpose, of appealing, as we are told, to the "slave-mind" of the Christian believers. If Christ was not God, then He was the greatest of all deceivers, since He claimed for Himself divinity and equality with the Father. If we are Catholics it is only because we firmly believe and confess with Peter: "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt., xvi: 16).

In the present narrative Christ appears before us not merely

as man but precisely as the Son of God, Who has all power in heaven and upon earth; to Whom all things are subject and Who alone has supreme dominion and absolute right of ownership not merely over the earth and its products, but over man as well; from Whom and under Whom alone all just property and true authority are held. This is not the Christ Whom Socialists acknowledge, but it is the Christ Whom every Catholic and every Christian must adore.

As God He commands the demons, whose name is legion, to leave their victims, of whom Luke singles out the most important and heroic, while two are mentioned by Saint Matthew; as God He permits these evil spirits to enter into the creatures most resembling them in foulness; as God, too, He foresees the consequences, which He "suffers" in order that the greatness of the miracle may come home to the inhabitants of that country, still largely pagan at the time; as God He finally cooperated with His grace in the souls of the masters to whom their servants hasten to announce the loss sustained. That loss is but insignificant in itself. The loss of the whole world, as Christ elsewhere so strongly insisted, would be nothing compared to the loss of a single soul. What, therefore, He took from them in a temporal way He returned a thousand fold in spiritual gifts, as we may well presume. Yet even for this He stood under no obligation. Towards God, creatures can have no rights but only duties, although in His infinite goodness He never ceases to shower favors upon them. There is consequently here no comparison between the action of God and the action of man; between God, the only absolute and supreme Owner of all things, freely disposing of His creatures, and the violation of His laws by a revolutionist usurping dominion over the things that are another's.

In the event of a Socialist victory, the majority, we are told, will decide what is to be done with the productive property of the present owners, and whether compensation is to be offered or not. That none would be given is perfectly clear. "Ex-

propriation!" is the Marxian watchword. This is the rule of might and not of right. The majority can not unmake the commandments, nor can it set aside with impunity the God Who gave them amid lightning and thunders on Mount Sinai. Against all Socialist majorities, no less than against all forms of unjust and exploiting capital, He has written the final word by which they are already judged: "Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his field, nor his servant, nor his handmaid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his." From these commandments Christ proclaimed He would not take one jot or tittle.

XVIII

THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION

WE have treated all the main economic difficulties which are usually selected from the Scriptures as arguments against private ownership and in proof of the contention that Christ was truly a revolutionist in the strictest sense of the word. There remains still another class of quotations which are gathered from the Fathers of the Church and which periodically reappear in Socialist literature.

That these often contain the most severe arraignment of riches and the most terrible indictments of the rich themselves is undeniably true. Any student of history will appreciate the great need there existed in the days of the Fathers for such apostolic language. We need but be conversant with the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom and understand the abominations practiced at Antioch in his time to realize the reason for language such as we find in his impassioned discourses.

Riches themselves are likewise often absolutely condemned or are even unconditionally spoken of as theft by one or other of the Fathers of the Church. Yet upon closer study it will be found that these very speakers were on good terms with men who, although of the wealthy classes, yet did not abuse the earthly goods God had entrusted to their stewardship. In a word, it may be said that strong as the language of the Fathers upon this subject often is, we shall not find a single instance where private ownership is not sustained. The doubtful passages must be interpreted in the sense of those which are clear and the circumstances of place and time must likewise be taken into account. The absolute condemnations of the rich in Scripture were seen to be modified most considerably when in the preceding chapters we studied the isolated passages in con-

nection with the entire context and this again in connection with the entire Gospel teaching. There was then not the least doubt left as to the mind of Christ upon this subject. Not the rich, but those who misused their riches, or wrongfully acquired them, were subject to His divine condemnation.

In the same manner we shall find that the plain teaching of the Fathers conforms with that of Christ. If indeed it differed from this it could possess no value in itself. With the complete and minute discussion to which we have submitted the Scripture teaching, we can say that we have likewise fully answered the patristic difficulties.

It must, moreover, be remembered that many of the passages in question were taken from speeches delivered under the strong enthusiasm of the moment and at once put into writing by the hearers, without ever having been written by the speakers who delivered them. It is amply sufficient, therefore, to know that none of the Fathers denied the right of private ownership, and that, whatever doubtful passages may be contained in their writings, they all can readily be clarified by comparison with others taken from the entire range of patristic literature to show that private ownership was strongly sanctioned by the Church then as it is to-day.

The main object of the Fathers, where they were not directly inveighing against the vices practiced by so many of the rich, was to show that riches are not to be looked upon as good in themselves, and as something to be sought or kept for its own sake, and especially that they expose us, according to the doctrine of the Gospels, to the greatest and most terrible of dangers.

Neither, they teach, are riches to be regarded as the absolute possession of any man, since there is only one absolute Owner, and that is God. All earthly goods are held in dependence upon Him and may be disposed of only according to His good pleasure. He has clearly not meant them for a few who are to use them only for their own satisfaction, to the arbitrary exclusion of others, who are to go unfed and unhoused

because of the greed or luxury of the former. If great wealth has been gathered into the hands of any one, he holds it in trust for his poorer brethren, and for whatever service God intends thereby, although he himself is not denied the right of living in accordance to his station of life and of making all due provision for those dependent upon him.

The conditions of modern industry and commerce, moreover, make it necessary that larger fortunes be concentrated into the hands of individuals than in the days of the Fathers. These accumulations of wealth are, however, to be invested not for the sole benefit of the owner, but for the utility of the poor, to whom his superabundance is to minister, while allowances for alms in various ways are likewise to be made. Great industrial enterprises, nevertheless, may often afford opportunity for the truest Christian charity.

In all this there is no tinge of Socialistic doctrine. That it sounds very different from the principles of the modern business world we can readily concede; but the doctrines of Christ have never found great favor with the world of the rich either in His own day or in the day of the great Fathers of the Church, or in any subsequent age. This is the very reason for the many strong and even terrible passages in the whole range of sacred literature wherever it deals with these subjects. We have presented only the pure doctrine of the Church in all ages.

To summarize our statements in brief, we may say that extreme and unconditioned passages, such as occur in the Fathers, are to be judged according to the circumstances of time and place, and in particular according to the general doctrine contained in their works. This latter is fully and clearly expressed in the words of Saint Thomas. We quote these the more willingly in as far as they have received a new force and significance by their incorporation into the famous Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII *On the Conditions of the Working Classes.*

"Man," says the Angelic Doctor, "should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but *as common to all,* so as to share them without hesitation when others are in need.

Whence the apostle saith, Command the rich of this world . . . to offer with no stint, to apportion largely." (Summa 2^a 2^{ae} Q. 65, Art. 2.) This obligation of the rich to give to the indigent out of their superabundance the Pontiff describes as a duty, not of justice, save in extreme cases, but of Christian charity. Here, therefore, is the doctrine of the Church and the key to all the patristic literature.

"True," says the Holy Father, "no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own needs and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; 'for no one ought to live other than becomingly.' But when what necessity demands has been supplied, and one's standing fairly taken thought for, it becomes a duty to give to the indigent out of what remains over. 'That which remaineth, give alms.' (Luke, ii: 41.) It is a duty not of justice—save in extreme cases—a duty not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgments of men must yield place to the laws and judgments of Christ, the true God, Who in many ways urges upon His followers the practice of almsgiving.

"To sum up, then, what has been said: Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of temporal blessings, whether they be external or corporeal, or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and at the same time, that he may employ them as the steward of God's Providence, for the benefit of others."

There is, however, another passage in the Encyclical of Pope Leo which deserves to be particularly quoted in as far as it explains the patristic saying which we find most frequently reproduced, that the earth belongs to all mankind in general. This, as the Fathers understood it and as the Supreme Pontiff explains it, is perfectly true.

"To affirm," he says, "that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race is not to deny that private property is lawful. For God has granted the

earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all, without distinction, can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and by the laws of individual races. Moreover, the earth, even though apportioned among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all, inasmuch as there is no one who does not sustain life from what the land produces. Those who do not possess the soil contribute their labor; hence it may truly be said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor or one's own land, or from some toilsome calling which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth."

Not merely capitalists, however, are to be held accountable for the means in their possession. This same principle holds true for all classes alike. The lavish waste of money upon luxuries and even sinful pleasures, which may be noticed on all hands, is to be severely reprobated. Socialism, as the deadly enemy of thrift as well as of almsgiving, is largely responsible for willfully furthering such a condition of life. It would have all classes spend regardless of their standing or means, in order to swell ever more the ranks of the malcontents and bring ever nearer the day of the great revolution. These are lessons openly taught in all its literature and it glories in being their champion.

There is consequently a need for all classes, rich and poor alike, to return to the teachings of Christ as they are found in their simplicity and purity nowhere except within the fold of the Catholic Church. That the time may speedily come wherein His Sacred Heart shall reign over all the world must be the object of all our most serious efforts and our most earnest prayers. "Thy kingdom come!"

PART III

CATHOLIC SOCIAL IDEALS

"A single good organization is better than a thousand speeches. Good organizations, good newspapers, good elections—these are the pieces of ordnance with which we Catholics must take the field against our enemies..... The future belongs to Christianity—that is self-evident; and neither to Liberalism nor to Socialism. But perhaps we shall have to pay dear before we learn how to fight properly in the time in which we live. Our weakness to-day consists solely in our manner of fighting." (BISHOP KETTELER—*Liberalismus, Socialismus, und Christentum.*)

XIX

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

TO prove "the present godlessness of Christendom," the assertion is made in Socialist literature that the Church, from century to century, has neglected the poor and contented herself with casting to them only the hard crusts of alms. These accusations, as applied to the Catholic Church, are the purest calumny. We need but cite in evidence the splendid results achieved by the Clericals of Belgium, the Christian Socials of Austria, and the Centrists of Germany to call to mind instances of the most progressive social work accomplished in modern times. The envenomed shafts of slander will always be levelled against the Church, and against those parties which are most nearly allied to her. All their successes will be denied or belittled by that world which has ever, from the beginning of Christianity, hated the followers of Christ. "In the world you shall have distress: but have confidence. I have overcome the world." (John, xvi: 33.)

Though Catholics in America are not as yet the active factor in industrial organization which they are to-day in Germany, where social education has been carried on for decades of years, yet no one can deny that Catholic labor leaders have even among us marched in the van of economic progress. In numbers they have proportionally far exceeded all others. This is the very reason why Socialism is to-day concerned so greatly with its efforts to capture the Catholic vote, and why it often so cunningly disguises its relentless and undying hatred of the Church of Christ.

Yet the strongest support which the Catholic Church has given to labor is that very doctrine of Christ which it is her glory ever to have preached before the world and which must be the mightiest factor in any social renovation.

The charge, therefore, as we have elsewhere said, that the poor have been neglected by her, which is written large over all Socialist literature, is most basely false. Her missions and her asylums, her work in the crowded hospital wards, her education of the children of all classes, the zeal of her Sisters of the Good Shepherd, her Little Sisters of the Poor, and her countless communities devoted to the destitute of every kind, the self-sacrifice of many a heroic priest in parishes that barely can support him in his needs and who yet gives freely out of his own poverty to promote the work of God,—these are but a few instances that the spirit of Christ is still alive and active in our midst. The love of the poor and the utter disregard of self and private interests in countless devoted apostles may not be known to the world at large; but it is written in the hearts of their flock and in the Heart of God. They are the bulwark of the Church in these days when her divine institution is put to the most exacting proof.

The doctrine of brotherhood itself, of which Socialism boasts so loudly, is derived from no other source than the Catholic Church, and is based only upon her teaching of the essential equality of all men, whatever their race or sex or condition. True Christian Communism, which claims that God has indeed made the earth for all men and that all should enjoy its fruits; which does not deny the rights of property, but only the selfish use of it; which gives to the starving man, who has no other means of sustaining life, the privilege of seizing whatever is necessary from the possessions of his neighbor, has ever been taught within the Church.

So again when usury was the money-lenders' method of oppressing and enslaving the needy, the Catholic Church most strictly forbade its practice and tenderly rescued the suffering victims from the talons of merciless greed, arising in her might as the champion of the poor through all the ages. To-day she occupies, no less than in preceding centuries, this same exalted position. We need but call to mind the great Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Labor Question.

"It is no easy matter," he wrote more than twenty years ago, "to define the relative rights and mutual duties of the rich and of the poor, of Capital and of Labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators are intent on making use of these differences of opinion to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to revolt.

"But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes." (*Enc'l Rerum Novarum.*)

Since these lines were penned great progress has in many ways been made in promoting the interests of labor; but much is still to be desired in the conditions of large portions of our labor population, especially of the women and children, for whom Pope Leo pleaded with a special tenderness.

"Work which is quite suitable for a strong man," he writes, "can not reasonably be required from a woman or a child. And in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in workshops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently developed. For just as very rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so does too early an experience in life's hard toil blight the young promise of a child's faculties and render any true education impossible. Women, again, are not suited for certain occupations; a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family."

This last, from a Socialist point of view, is most reactionary and reprehensible doctrine, but it is nevertheless the only true Christian teaching. Socialism would make the woman take her place by the side of man in industrial labors and make her economically equal and independent of him. The Scripture doctrine which makes of man the head of the household is essentially opposed to Socialism.

"However terrible and disgusting," says Karl Marx, "the

dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and children of both sexes, *creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relation between the sexes.* It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Greek, or Eastern forms, which, moreover, taken together, form a series in historic development." (*Capital, Vol. I, p.* 536.)

Place this side by side with the quotation we have given from Pope Leo and you have in few words the difference in spirit between Socialistic revolution and Catholic reform. Modern economic conditions, by drawing woman outside the domestic circle into the sphere of industrial production, are helping towards the realization of the Socialist ideal. It all shows that nothing could be more true than the statement of the leader of the Belgian Socialist party, M. Emile Vandervelde:

"Can a sincere believer follow the Church's teaching and yet be a Socialist?" he asks, and then gives the only obvious solution. "It is not for us to answer this question, but considering the weight given by Catholics to the Pope's words, we are bound to admit that both in philosophy and politics there must be war between Socialism and the Church." (*Le Mouvement Socialist, quoted by Social Democrat Jan.* 15, 1903.) The Church is not concerned with politics as such, but if religion is threatened through politics, Catholics have a duty to defend it even here.

Referring to the laborer himself, the Holy Father says: "The first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of greedy speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for money-making. It is neither just nor human so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupify their minds and wear out their bodies. Man's powers, like his gen-

eral nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest. Daily labor, therefore, should be so regulated as not to be protracted over longer hours than strength admits."

Again, however, there is the strictest line of division between the doctrine of the Holy Father and that proposed by Socialism. The latter is built up on strife and hatred and lives by kindling into flame the passions of men. The very foundation upon which it rests, the Church declares, is essentially pagan and in deadliest contradiction of Christianity.

"The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the workingmen are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Each needs the other; Capital cannot do without Labor, nor Labor without Capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness of life and the beauty of good order; while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian institutions is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than Religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the poor bread-winners together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice." (*Enc'l Rerum Novarum.*)

Labor has, therefore, duties as well as rights, and the Socialist tenet that the worker can never be wrong is the merest rant of demagogy, which all true Christian labor will indignantly resent. It is the principle of Socialism to urge the worker to continue in his warfare with the employer, no matter what concessions may have already been wrung from him, regardless of justice as of charity, and even of natural prudence. These are but the natural conclusions of the Socialist first principle of the essential class struggle, making all agreements

between employer and employed nothing more than a temporary truce in the course of a battle which must be waged even to annihilation. Without accepting this principle and its conclusions no one can be a true Socialist, and this alone is sufficient to make Socialism impossible for a Catholic.

That such a course of action must likewise necessarily lead to the ruin of the workers and of the entire country is evident. Yet this is precisely the end desired by Socialism—universal misery and discontent, in which it can best arouse a merciless revolution. This will then come, as Marx foretold, in violence and blood, leaving the country in desolation and destroying its resources. Socialism has never been opposed to force upon any other ground than that of expediency. Whenever violence or sabotage become truly serviceable to the Socialist cause they are not merely lawful, but highly desirable upon Socialistic principles. The clear proof of this can easily be given.

Very different is the doctrine of the Church as expressed by the Sovereign Pontiff in the Encyclical *On the Condition of the Working Classes,"* from which we are here quoting throughout the present chapter.

"Religion," he says, "teaches the laboring man and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements freely entered into; never to injure the property nor to outrage the person of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets and the loss of all they possess."

No less clear and emphatic are the admonitions addressed to the employing classes:

"Religion teaches the wealthy owner and the employer that their work-people are not to be accounted their slaves; that in every man they must respect his dignity and worth as a man and as a Christian; that labor is not a thing to be ashamed of, if we lend ear to right reason and to Christian philosophy, but

is an honorable calling, enabling a man to sustain his life in a way upright and creditable; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power.

"Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work-people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age.

"His great and principal duty is to give every one a fair wage. Doubtless before deciding whether wages are adequate many things have to be considered; but wealthy owners and all masters of labor should be mindful of this, that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. 'Behold, the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth aloud; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

XX

THE CHURCH AND LABOR INTERESTS

THE religious solution of the social question proposed by the Holy Father may be ideally beautiful, we are told, but it is not practical. Do we hope, it is asked, to convert the tiger hearts of the supermen who are coining their gold from the life blood of the poor?

Nothing is more true than that there is hardly a more insuperable obstacle to the working of divine grace than wealth unjustly acquired, whether by fraud or by oppression. It is for this reason the Scriptures assert that there is "none worse thing" than riches.

Yet even here the power and love of Christ are beyond human estimation. The Church has conquered every obstacle, and she who subdued the lascivious Greek and haughty Roman, who converted the hordes of the northern barbarians, and rolled back the tides of the Moslem invasion, who entered under the tent of the Iroquois and planted the cross in a thousand wildernesses, will likewise be able to renew our modern world in the spirit of Christ. "There is only one answer to this question," says Bishop Ketteler. "If the Church is powerless here, we must despair of ever arriving at a peaceful settlement of the social question."

But the Church is not powerless. Her religion is not merely passive, as her enemies pretend. It is an active, energizing faith, whose influence to-day is most strongly felt even where it has not as yet been expressed in direct social action. That the time has come for her to enter more completely into this field of truly religious activity no one can for a moment doubt. This she has already begun to do in the heroic efforts made by many of her priests and laity who are answering the call of the Supreme Pontiff to carry on her social apostolate

in the spirit of Christ. She has made the modern civilization and has given to it all that is best in it and noblest. She alone can remake it after the divine model shown her upon the mount, now that it has been so largely destroyed by capitalistic greed and Socialistic revolution, both springing from the same source, as we elsewhere show, the Reformation.

Nowhere shall we find a more glorious picture drawn for us of the ideal social cooperation of all classes, of bishops and priests and laity, of employers and employed, than in our own Catholic Social Manifesto, the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII "On the Condition of the Working Classes," to whose guidance we must entrust ourselves without reserve:

"Those Catholics are worthy of all praise—and they are not a few—who, understanding what the times require, have striven by various undertakings and endeavors to better the condition of the working class without any sacrifice of principle being involved. They have taken up the cause of the workingman and have spared no efforts to better the condition both of families and individuals; to infuse a spirit of equity into the mutual relations of employers and employed; to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the Gospel—that Gospel which, by inculcating self-restraint, keeps men within bounds of moderation and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and the various classes which compose the State.

"It is with such ends in view that we see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of concerted action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite workingmen of various grades into associations, help them with their advice and means, and enable them to obtain fitting and profitable employment. The bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good-will and support; and, with their approval and guidance, many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously in behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of such associations. And there are not wanting Catholics blessed with affluence who have, as it

were, cast in their lot with the wage-earners, and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading Benefit and Insurance Societies, by means of which the workingman may without difficulty acquire through his labor not only many present advantages, but also the certainty of honorable support in days to come.

"How greatly such manifold and earnest activity has benefited the community at large is too well known to require Us to dwell upon it. We find therein grounds for most cheering hope in the future, provided always that the associations We have described continue to grow and spread and are well and wisely administered. Let the State watch over these societies of citizens banded together for the exercise of their rights; but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the spirit inspiring them, and may be killed by the rough grasp of a hand from without."

What is greatly needed by us all in these turbulent times is a strong, cheerful optimism. The true keynote of Catholic social activity was struck by the great German prelate who gave us his message in these ringing words: "Optimism is the cry of our time!" The strength of Socialism is its buoyant hope and sanguine spirit. The same natural means, fortified by that supernatural joy and strength of the Lord which is the gift of the Holy Ghost, must likewise be employed by us. A constant lugubrious wail over the evils of our time and the dangers of the future can only dishearten our hearers, while a cheerful, hearty courage and an eagerness for the work before us will communicate itself as well. There are powers mightier than those of earth which fight upon our side.

The gates of hell have ever been open against the Church, and whether there has gone forth from them the might of an imperial persecution, or the plague of an Arian heresy, or the Moslem deluge of fire and blood, she has triumphed over them all. In the Socialist materialism, with its *"non serviam"* pronounced against God as well as man, we but behold another

onset which will spend itself in vain. That, however, it will sweep away with it many of those who do not cling strongly to their faith and who go over to the camp of the enemy despite the mandates of the Church, we already perceive only too obviously. There is work, and much of it, for us to do. Not Socialism alone, but the oppression and excesses of wealth, the inadequacy of so many of our laws, the poverty and countless social evils of our cities, all clamor for an active and intelligent social reform.

This does not mean that the Catholic pulpit, after the fashion of modern divines, is to be made a platform for economic, social and political effusions. It was erected solely for the preaching of the Word of God, without which all social reform is utterly vain. But in the reference to the social question which must frequently be made in our application, in the formal lectures and talks upon this subject to our men, in the work of organization which we must restlessly carry on, it is necessary that we be filled with something of that wisdom, prudence and zeal which distinguished the ministry of Christ.

The following is part of the Catholic program outlined by Bishop Ketteler, who gave the first great impetus to the study of the modern social question in the Church:

"To save the souls of countless workmen entrusted to her by Christ, the Church must enter the field of social reform armed with extraordinary remedies. She must exert herself to the utmost to rescue the workmen from a situation which constitutes a real proximate occasion of sin for them, a situation which makes it morally impossible for them to fulfil their duties as Christians.

"The Church is bound to interfere *ex caritate,* as these workmen are in extreme need and cannot help themselves. Otherwise the unbelieving workingman will say to her: 'Of what use are your fine teachings to me? What is the use of your referring me by way of consolation to the next world, if in this world you let me and my wife and my children perish

with hunger? You are not seeking my welfare, you are looking for something else.'

"By solving this problem, which is too difficult for mankind left to its own resources; by accomplishing this work of love, which is the most imperative work of our century, the Church will prove to the world that she is really the institution of salvation founded by the Son of God; for, according to His own words, His disciples shall be known by their works of charity.

"Finally, the Church must take the part of the workman, because if she does not, others will, and he will fall into the hands of those who are either indifferent or hostile to Christianity and the Catholic Church." (*Ecclesiastical Review, Jan. 1912.*)

XXI

CHURCH AND LABOR ORGANIZATION

IT was the Church which in the Middle Ages, when her power was universally acknowledged, everywhere encouraged and established her system of craft unionism in the labor guilds, which like an immense network spread over the entire Christian world. Poverty such as exists in our day was then practically unknown. Apprentices, journeymen and employers were gathered together into guilds of their own crafts, were united by identical interests and safeguarded by the protection of the Church authorities. Spiritual, as well as temporal benefits, were sought by the members through life and Masses were offered for their souls after death. Each guild constituted, according to the mind of the Church, one great united family, and all grievances were submitted for peaceful arbitration. Poverty such as might nevertheless arise was alleviated by the great monasteries of the land, whose stores of supplies were ever the patrimony of the poor.

In France, in England, in Germany, in Italy we find everywhere the same strongly organized Catholic guilds, lasting unimpaired through centuries and securing temporal and spiritual benefits for all. No modern reformer can suggest conditions superior to those indicated in the statutes of the mining guilds of Bohemia and Saxony. "Hygienic conditions in the mines, ventilation of the pits, precautions against accident, bathing houses, time of labor (eight hours daily and sometimes less) supply of the necessaries of life at fair prices, scale of wages, care of the sick and disabled, etc.,—no detail seems to have been lost sight of." (*P. J. Marique, in the Catholic Encyclopedia.*)

But a new factor now appeared in the industrial world. It was the Reformation, a movement furthered by ambitious

princes, who dragged with them into apostacy entire nations, often already weakened in faith. The doctrine of individualism which it taught soon extended from religion to economics. Upon the destruction of the monasteries, which had supported the poor, there followed the destruction of the craft guilds, which were the strength and protection of the laborer. Steadily oppressive industrial legislations now succeeded one another, until stripped of all his most precious rights and shackled in all his essential liberties, the worker was relentlessly delivered over to the mercy of a rapacious employer, free to interpret the gospel according to his own preconceived and selfish notions. Labor organization was henceforth to be regarded as crime and conspiracy. Authority in religion had been destroyed and economic anarchy reigned. That this condition should sooner or later likewise extend to the political order was inevitable.

Capital, indeed, is not to be condemned in itself, but only in its abuse. Such is the teaching of the Church, no less than the fundamental conception of trade unionism which has not repudiated its principles or passed over into the control of Socialism, the new apostasy of labor. Not Capitalism but Mammonism we are to fight. Socialism and Mammonism are equally reprehensible. Though in deadly opposition to one another, they are faithfully working side by side for the ruin of society. They are both sprung from materialism and rationalism, as products of the Reformation.

I know that I shall here be told of the great changes which have taken place in the world of industry. These we all admit, but the oppression of Labor and the exploitation of helplessness and poverty such as developed after the time of the Reformation and had been prepared for by previous religious indifference, were not necessarily implied by the invention of machinery and the subsequent industrial expansion. They were caused by the suppression of the rights of Labor and the poor, such as took place under Henry, under Edward and under Elizabeth. They were the consequence of forced indi-

vidual bargaining on the part of the worker, shorn of all that liberty of organizing into guilds and brotherhoods, which the Church had ever most jealously guarded for him. How true this is may be seen from the fact that with a more greatly developed industrialism Labor has been able to remedy many of the evils which existed a quarter of a century ago; while, on the other hand, at a stage of even less mechanical and commercial development than existed in the days of the Catholic guilds, the world witnessed the degradation of labor wherever the influence of Catholicity had not yet penetrated.

The present strained condition between Capital and Labor which Socialism is striving to aggravate until it must develop into a great civil war, perhaps the most terrible and bloody which history has yet known, is merely the result of the apostasy from the Catholic Church, and with it of the loss of all religious authority, of all certainty in faith, of all sure and safe guidance in the path of morality and of all that strength of the Sacraments so sadly needed in our day to support both Capital and Labor in their temptations to selfishness and greed. Only in proportion, as men shall once more return into the unity of the one faith of Christ, or at least acknowledge the principles which it has ever guarded through the ages, is any solution of the labor problem possible. Without this precaution organization itself will but degenerate into a tyranny of godless Labor to replace the old despotism of individualistic Capital. For one evil spirit that is driven out seven others will return, and the latter state of society will be worse than the former.

Socialism, or its revolutionary principles where Socialism itself is not adopted, can have no other outcome. Professedly it takes no account of religion; in practice it has upon every opportunity and in every country shown itself a bitter opponent of Catholic Christianity; in doctrine all its most famous leaders are not merely atheistic, as individuals of any party may be, but hold that Socialism itself is incompatible with Christianity as it is taught in the Catholic Church.

The position to which Labor has been largely reduced in Europe through Socialistic influence is thus described by Pope Leo, and it depends upon us to prevent the effect of this same influence at work in our midst:

"Associations of every kind, and especially those of workingmen, are now far more common than heretofore," he says. "As regards many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what the means they employ. There is a good deal of evidence, however, which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of secret leaders, and are managed on principles ill-according with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labor, and force workingmen either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances Christian workingmen must do one of two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril, or form associations among themselves—unite their forces and shake off courageously the yoke of so unrighteous and intolerable an oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme risk will for a moment hesitate to say that the second alternative should by all means be adopted."

Labor organizations based upon the teaching of Christ, founded upon the universal Brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God, repudiating all doctrine of hatred and class antagonism, whether in principle or practice, standing for equal justice for employer and employed, have ever found in the Church their foremost and often their only champion.

It was the Church which in her earliest period emancipated Labor from the servile condition to which paganism had reduced it. It was the Church which in the age of the great Fathers and Doctors used in Labor's defence language so strong and emphatic that one who has studied their writings in disconnected passages and apart from their historic setting, might imagine that he can find in them a warrant for revolutionary doctrine. The revolution which the Fathers preached

and which the Church insists upon is the revolution of the heart. If this takes place there will be no need of any other; but if this is not carried out all others will be vain.

To-day the Catholic Church strongly encourages all labor organization in accordance with the Gospel of Christ. Catholic laborers must stand by each other and by their fellow Christian believers, who still hold to the divinity of Christ and to the inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures.

We cannot, therefore, too heartily endorse the movement on foot to establish Catholic social study centres in every parish or section of our land. We must act in a corporate manner, not as politicians after Socialistic methods, but as Christians safeguarding our own brethren from destruction. We must not permit the sharpshooters of the enemy to pick off our men singly when we can victoriously sweep the field as an organized army in the interest of a true Christian social reform. We mean to cause no faction in the Labor camp, as Socialism is doing, but to help all truly Christian labor activities. Organization for the laborer is a necessity of our times, but it must not be permitted to overleap the bounds of justice and of charity.

In encouraging labor unions we must always remember that Pope Leo XIII had in mind the ideal Catholic association. Since this does not exist in our country, we can to a great extent supply its want by our own parish or local organizations. These will educate and strengthen the laborer, and give to him those sound Christian principles which alone can save Society, dignify Labor, and glorify God, for Whom alone Labor and Capital and Society itself exist. The unions must be redeemed from Socialism and radicalism, or, if these prevail, Catholics must organize anew.

"To sum up, then," says Pope Leo XIII, "we may lay it down as a general and lasting law that workingmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better

his condition to the utmost in body, mind and property. It is clear that they must pay special and chief attention to the duties of religion and morality, and that their internal discipline must be guided very strictly by these weighty considerations; otherwise they would lose wholly their special character and end by becoming little better than those societies which take no account whatever of Religion.

"What advantage can it be to a workingman to obtain by means of a Society all that he requires and to endanger his soul for lack of spiritual food? 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?' This, as Our Lord teaches, is the mark or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. 'After all these things do the heathens seek. . . . Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.'

"Let our associations, then, look first and before all things to God; let religious instruction have therein the foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what he has to believe, what to hope for, and how he is to work out his salvation; and let all be warned and strengthened with special care against wrong principles and false teaching. Let the workingman be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion, and, among other things, to the keeping holy of Sundays and holydays. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common Mother of us all; and hence to obey the precepts of the Church and to frequent the Sacraments, since they are the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life."

If such labor unions cannot now be established, they should, as we have said, be supplied by special organizations which will afford the laborer within his own parish or community all that spiritual guidance, Sacramental strength and religious insight into the social question which will enable him to champion the cause of charity, justice and all Christian principles wherever the interests of Labor are concerned.

XXII

AN IDEAL CATHOLIC LAYMAN

IN the memoirs of Prince Bismarck there occurs a classical passage which is often quoted. It refers to Windthorst. "Before the Centre Party was formed," writes the famous Chancellor, "there existed a faction known as the faction of Meppen. It consisted, so far as I recall, of a single representative, a great general without an army. Since then, like Wallenstein, he has succeeded in stamping an army out of the earth and surrounding himself with it."

That army, after twenty years of ceaseless battle, was destined at last to drive Prince Bismarck himself, in utter rout and ruin, from the political field where he had held at command all the power of the vast empire—Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, the conqueror of Austria and France.

Of the representatives of the German Reichstag there was but one who could oppose him without blenching when the violence of his anger was aroused; and that man was Windthorst. It was the privilege of the present writer to hear the description of such an encounter, as most thrillingly told by one who had been the intimate friend and constant companion of Windthorst, who had stood in the ranks and fought under his command, even to the very end, the beloved Dr. Lieber.

It is now some twenty years ago that the picture he then so graphically drew was impressed upon my memory. To-day it still remains, as vivid as if the reality were being enacted in the living present.

It all happened during a session of the Reichstag. A word had been uttered in some remote corner of the hall which was clearly an open defiance to the omnipotent dictator. The speaker himself was not apparent. An instant hush fell over the assembly, a silence such as in nature often precedes the

hurricane. Another moment and Bismarck had leaped to his feet, had started from his place and was standing in the middle of the floor. His fists were clenched, his eyes were flashing, his whole body quivered with passion, as he thundered forth his challenge: "Who spoke that word?" We are told that a hush more terrible than death sinks upon the wilderness, not a breath seems to be drawn by any living being, the instant that the roar of the lion has resounded through the forest. Such was the effect of that menace flung out upon the assembly.

But the moment of suspense was brief. Quickly came back the answer, clear as the ringing of steel, yet quiet and without a quaver of passion or fear, "I, your lordship." The speaker was Windthorst, a slight and insignificant figure, almost hidden among the benches.

It was the little giant of Meppen, great only in intellect and heart and in that trust which was founded upon God. It was David going forth to do battle against Goliath. What cared he for the buckler of brass, and the coat of mail, and the spear that "weighted six hundred sicles of iron": he came in the name of truth and liberty and right. On that day was sealed the fate of the Iron Chancellor. Hereafter it was Bismarck who quailed when Windthorst held the floor.

Catholic interests ever occupied the foremost place in the heart of Windthorst, and long before the days of the *Kulturkampf* he had constituted himself the champion of Catholic rights and liberty. As Hanoverian Minister, his first thought was the restoration of the See of Osnabrück, suppressed almost half a century before by Napoleon; nor did he rest until he saw a new episcopal occupant installed in full dignity, and ruling with undisputed sway, over that spiritual domain which had been wrested from the Church by the sacrilegious hands of the unprincipled Corsican conqueror. "In the lower House," the *Würzburger Sonntagsblatt* wrote of him in 1851, "he was always a vigorous champion of the rights of the Church. He is the most resolute and fearless defender of the Catholic cause in Hanover, where the Catholics have all along had to

complain of retrenchments of their rights, and of oppressions and vexations of every description."

As Bishop Ketteler, from whom the great Pope of the Workingmen himself avowed that he had drawn his inspiration, is the model for the priesthood of our day; so Windthorst is the practical ideal of the laity. The devout client of Mary, the heroic son of Holy Church, the ardent and unwearied champion of liberty and justice, Windthorst was providentially ordained to be not merely the liberator of the Church in his own country, but an example of social activity for the entire world. This, therefore, is the reason why, irrespective of nationality, the Catholics of our land, its priests and orators and journalists, have all united in doing homage to his name—a name like that of Ozanam, Garcia Moreno and Daniel O'Connell, dear to every Catholic heart, a household word in every home, an inspiration and encouragement to countless noble and self-sacrificing lives, a glorious heritage for generations yet unborn.

Keen, energetic, unremitting, still preserving to his eighty-first year the ardor and restless activity of his early life, yielding no jot or tittle in his unswerving loyalty to the eternal principles, the little knight of Meppen led on the Centre to victory for twenty successive years, continuing to his last breath the battle he had begun in youth: for Truth and Liberty and Right. As lawyer, as councillor, as Hanoverian Minister, as parliamentarian, as Centrist leader, as the greatest social legislative reformer in the Reichstag, Windthorst was ever a Catholic first and foremost, in private life as in public, and therefore the truest patriot and most devoted friend of the laborer and the poor.

The very week before the hush of the last and unbroken silence fell upon his lips he delivered one of his most impressive discourses in the German Reichstag; and when at last his eventful life had drawn to its close, Emperor and Empress, the princes of the realm and men of all parties and all ranks and creeds vied in paying honor to his memory. The entire

nation stood mourning at the bier of him who had never made a personal foe, who had refused wealth and preferment and even the comforts of life in his declining days to serve his country and his God. The very men whom he had fought in many a bitter contest came to bear testimony that here lay one whose life had been epoch-making in the history of his nation.

"You are justly filled with deep sorrow," Pope Leo XIII wrote to the Centre Party, "at the unexpected death of Ludwig Windthorst, a man whose piety, uprightness, prudence and other qualities of mind and heart were patent before all others to you, the companions of his toils and exertions not less than of his fame; for in reliance on your faithful cooperation and support he did battle for the rights of the Church and held aloft the banner of justice unflinchingly until he had carried it to victory.

"You are justly proud of having had as your leader a man who would not be turned from his course either by the power of his enemies or the changing currents of public opinion, who loved his country and honored his sovereigns in such a way as never to separate these duties from the exercise of religion, who combated his opponents with such weight of argument and such power of eloquence that it was easy to see that zeal for the truth, and not ambition or self-interest, drew him into the lists."

It were wrong, however, to leave the impression that Windthorst was the only great name among the Catholic laity of Germany. The Centre numbered in its ranks men of the most independent genius, the most exceptional powers of intellect and heart, and that indefinable quality, the gift of born leadership. To preserve a united party it was often therefore necessary for their venerable and acknowledged leader to sacrifice his own cherished plans and deeply rooted convictions. This is frequently the hardest sacrifice to make; but no sacrifice was too great, no labor too arduous to preserve unbroken the unity of Catholic action.

Dear to his heart were, therefore, the grand concerted movements of the vast Volksverein and the Christian trades unions, both of which are greatly indebted to his personal initiative. Dear, too, as centres of faith and unity were the German Catholic Days over which he was the guiding and presiding spirit. In the last of these assemblies which Providence granted him the joy of attending, at the close of a long and thoughtful address, in which he had carefully outlined their plan of future work, his voice grew tremulous as in conclusion he asked the great audience which had hung upon his words to remember him in their prayers, if it should be God's pleasure to call him from their midst before they could once more be gathered together. *Usque ad mortem*—"even unto death" no opportunity was lost by him, no sacrifice was spared which could knit into a firmer bond of union his Catholic countrymen.

If, therefore, we were asked to sum up in a single word the entire career of this illustrious champion of the liberty of the Church, this greatest of all modern statesmen in the cause of social progress, this first and foremost friend, with Bishop Ketteler, of the workingmen of his native land, that word would be, Duty!—fidelity as a Catholic layman to the call of public and social obligations. And if, furthermore, we were asked to describe in one word the method he pursued to accomplish his great task with such signal success, to bring honor to a persecuted Church, to drive Bismarck even to Canossa, to aid in building up the great Christian labor movement, and supported by the Centre, to introduce or advance all the most intelligent labor legislation enacted in his country, that word would be, Solidarity! Only by the united and concordant action of the Catholics of all Germany was it possible for the Centre to become that mighty power which alone has been able to preserve Germany from the political, social and moral ruin of an agnostic liberalism and an infidel Socialism.

The growth of the latter Windthorst had clearly foreseen. "When the parishes are left without priests," he had warned the Reichstag, "when the clergy are hunted out of the schools,

when the religious orders, whose occupation it has been, and whose vocation it must ever be to alleviate human suffering and instruct the children of the poor, are driven across the seas, then there is small wonder that Social Democracy finds an entrance." Thus it was that Socialism in Germany followed in the path of Liberalism and religious persecution.

The social activity with which Windthorst strove to meet this new danger, which had only begun to menace society, but whose future development loomed up titanic before his prophetic vision, deserves a special consideration.

XXIII

WINDTHORST AS SOCIAL REFORMER

THROUGHOUT his entire political career Windthorst never for a moment lost sight of the social problem. Neither the bitterness of persecution nor the intensity of the struggle for religious liberty could ever cloud or obscure in his mind the importance of this supreme issue. Almost at his first entrance into the Reichstag, as early as the year 1873, he announced his firm conviction upon this subject. "I regard the social question as a terribly momentous problem." Its consideration by the Reichstag he urged as a most imperative obligation.

"Have we done our duty in regard to the social question," he demanded in 1875. "From personal observation I maintain that there is want abroad throughout the land, from the French boundaries even to Berlin. I maintain that every evil, every misfortune must be provided against quietly and vigilantly, and must receive the most thorough investigation in order that we may deliberate in common whether and by what means we can remedy these conditions."

Socialism, he held, must be stayed in its progress by social activity; by a careful study of the movement on the part of Catholic leaders, with the purpose of embracing whatever good it may contain; and finally by embodying what has thus been learned, in an intelligent and truly Christian social reform. Such action does not, of course, dispense with a constant propaganda of enlightenment calculated to expose the fallacies of Socialism, to make clear its destructive nature, and to show its utter incompatibility with religious principles. We are here, however, concerned merely with the constructive labors of Windthorst.

"It is necessary," he urged in detail before the Reichstag in

1886, "that with all speed and energy we create a thorough protective labor legislation, and that we regulate at the earliest opportunity the normal hours of work, decide the question of woman and child labor, and insist upon keeping holy the Lord's day." He emphasized, moreover, the duty of the State to provide boards of arbitration in cases of labor trouble, and so to prevent either party from taking unjust advantage of the other. Labor as well as Capital may evidently prove itself unfair. Only Socialism, with its demagogic principles and methods, openly maintains that the worker can never be in the wrong.

On the other hand, Windthorst was no less firmly opposed to the labor legislation of Bismarck. Though intending to provide insurance and old age pensions for the worker—a legislation which the Centre did not oppose in itself—he desired to do so in his own autocratic manner, robbing the laborer of his true liberty by making him merely a part of the State machinery. This would have been little better than Socialism itself.

The first notable labor bill introduced into the Reichstag was that submitted by the Centrist von Galen, at the suggestion of Windthorst. It was drafted in 1877, and we can hardly be wrong in maintaining that it was the most progressive and rational platform of labor legislation which had until then been introduced before any modern legislative body. Even at an age when industrial problems were already developing with an unprecedented rapidity, this bill was far in advance of its time. But it set at once a high ideal for labor legislation by which we can still profit in our day. Each clause was defended by Windthorst with all the cogency of his persuasive eloquence; and although rejected, it still remains, in spite of its failure, a milestone in the progress of industrial reform.

To show how little Socialism, with its policy of negation, can venture to compare itself with the progressive Centre Party of the German Catholics we here offer the substance of the bill:

"It asked," says the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* in an excellent summary, "for the revision of the *Gewerbe-Ordnung* of July 21, 1869, for the purpose of providing better protection for the religious and moral well-being of the entire working population, the protection and furtherance of skilled workmen by curtailing the existing liberty of contract, the regulation of the relation existing between master and apprentice, and the encouragement of organizations of employees and employers among themselves; extension of the existing legal provisions for the protection of factory workers; institution of normal regulations for factory legislation; a provision prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years in factories; protection of the family by limiting the employment of women in factories; the introduction of occupational arbitration boards, with elected representatives of the working men as members; additional regulations concerning the management of enterprises depending upon concession, such as hotels and taverns. In addition the Galen bill demanded a revision of the legal provisions governing the economic principle of unlimited competition, and of the law of July 7, 1871, concerning liability for accidents in mines and other industrial establishments. The bill was accompanied by a thorough exposé advocating its provisions."—(*A. F. B., Feb.,* 1912.)

As the writer notes, the Socialists were bitterly opposed to the passage of this bill. Every movement for the benefit of mankind, for the amelioration of the hard lot of the poor and for the improvement of labor conditions finds in Socialism its most determined foe, unless Socialists themselves can father and exploit it for their own political purposes.

When a few weeks later, to maintain their prestige, the Socialists were obliged to introduce a similar bill, following the suggestion they had received from Windthorst, the latter nevertheless generously supported it, without the slightest effort at retaliation. Unlike Socialism, the Centre was working solely for the good of the laborer. It was not seeking notoriety for itself and aggrandizement for its leaders. We

may say that all the famous labor legislation of Germany is due either to the initiative or the hearty cooperation of the Centre Party.

But legislation without religion, Windthorst well knew, could never solve the labor problem. The best labor legislation will be ineffective in an irreligious population. Socialism will still continue its agitation, and win its followers. The law of justice will yield to the law of might, as we find this exemplified in Socialistic principles no less than in a pagan capitalism even to-day.

The most perfect religious liberty was, consequently, for Windthorst, the first postulate for social work and the only preventative of Socialistic class embitterment and consequent national ruin. Catholic churches and Catholic schools are, as he well understood, the very foundation of all permanent social reform. "Only by great moral motives can people be converted when they have gone astray—never by the club of the police."

Long before the true danger of Socialism had been dreamed of by the Liberalist legislators, Windthorst had given them the most solemn warnings: "The prop upon which you might have leaned you have broken in your recklessness," he said, referring to their persecution of the Church. "Believe me, the day will come when you, too, will realize the truth and will exclaim, 'Would that we had never entered upon this course; had we acted otherwise, the red spectre would not now be threatening us."

Here is briefly described the genesis of Socialism, as foreseen by the penetrating intelligence of Windthorst. Here, too, is given a clear insight into its nature. It can thrive only in the soil of liberalism, agnosticism or atheism. Only a bad Catholic can ever become even a moderately good Socialist.

Like Bishop Ketteler, like every true Catholic leader, Windthorst therefore realized that no sacrifice can be too great which is made in the cause of Catholic education. It is around the school that the modern battle of irreligion against Christianity

is most bitterly fought. Divorce, race-suicide, crime and Socialism are all primarily due to irreligious education, and certainly are made possible only by the surrender of religious principles. It is for this reason that Socialism in every country, as in our own, has no more cherished ambition than the destruction of the Catholic and Christian schools. Public social reform and social regeneration must take its beginning with these. The Catholic who sends his children to any but a Catholic school is not worthy of the name.

True to these principles, Windthorst fought, as his followers are fighting to-day, for the return of the one religious teaching order which is still tasting the bitterness of exile, which is always the first to be persecuted and the last to be pardoned by the enemies of the Faith, the Society of Jesus. It is no less inspiring than pathetic to recall how, in the very wanderings of his mind, during his last illness, the great Catholic statesman fondly spoke of the schools and of the Jesuits. These thoughts, together with the ardent desires for the welfare of the crown and of the country, were among the last to engage the mind and heart of the heroic leader.

We naturally recall here another scene which took place years before, when Windthorst, in the presence of his peers, poured forth an eloquent defence of this persecuted order and denounced with keenest irony the law demanding its expulsion.

"What accusations have really been brought forward against the Jesuits?" he asked. "What has been read to us is extraordinarily vague, and every jurist knows that such charges mean nothing. Give us facts, precise, definite facts, and proofs, then we shall see what is to be done. . . . There is question of two hundred men. These have nothing but the Gospel and the weapons of the intellect.—Are you afraid of these two hundred men?—Are you afraid of the Gospel?—Or are you afraid of the weapons of the intellect? A State of forty million inhabitants, with a million soldiers, with a legion of policemen of the public and secret order, is uneasy about two hundred Jesuits, whose first duty it is to teach that authority

must be obeyed. . . . Throw out this Bill, I entreat you, gentlemen, and do not make yourselves accomplices of a modern Pombal."

In the cause of true Christian reform Windthorst invited the cooperation of all Christians alike. The Centre was not made a "Catholic" party, as it is sometimes called, precisely in order that it might invite the allegiance of believing Protestants. Though founded upon strictly Catholic principles, and unrelenting in its demands for the Catholic rights of toleration, justice and equality, it can not for this reason be unacceptable to any fair-minded Protestant. That few non-Catholics have in times past joined its ranks was not the fault of the Centrist leaders nor of the Centrist party.

After the Centre, the supreme glory of Windthorst was the Volksverein, in whose foundation he had taken an active part. To-day it is the greatest social organization in the German Empire, and numbers well over seven hundred thousand members. Its first statute, which indicates its most intimate purpose, comes to us from the pen of Windthorst. "The object of this association," it reads, "is to combat error and the revolutionary tendencies prevalent in the social field, as well as to defend the Christian order of society."

It is a strictly Catholic organization, established for social enlightenment and in opposition to Socialistic agitation. While strenuously combating the latter, it likewise proposes to instruct Catholics about the best means for promoting sound Christian progress among all the various grades of social life. Its parallel in our own country is the Central Verein, which has drawn its inspiration from the same two richly flowing fountains of the purest, life-giving waters of social reform, Windthorst and Ketteler.

Why the work of social reform so successfully carried on by Windthorst has met with constant abuse from Socialists we have already explained. This propaganda of slander has been consistently carried on against the Centre, the Volksverein and the thoroughly organized and effective Christian trades unions,

with their hundreds of thousands of alert and energetic members, who are mostly Catholics. That such systematic misrepresentation should likewise have found a voice in our own American trades unions, which Socialism has spared no effort to malign, where it has not plotted to absorb them, shows how little profit often is reaped from experience.

Unlike the German Socialist leaders, such as Singer, Bebel, Vollmar or the elder Liebknecht, who enriched themselves with the pennies of the poor, Windthorst always remained in comparative poverty. The opportunity of wealth, which was so temptingly offered him by the Austrian court, he bravely resisted, looking for no other reward than that which was held out to him in the world beyond the grave, and seeking for no other relief than that which was to be brought to him by the angel of death, God's final messenger.

Public gifts of money he never received for his own person. Whatever was thus offered him he always transferred to the church of Our Lady in his own Hanoverian home—that church where his heart had ever abided in life and where now his body rests in death, which rises over him as the most fitting monument. Windthorst, like Daniel O'Connell, is but another example of the love ever cherished by the world's greatest men for her who was chosen from among all creatures to be the Mother of God.

XXIV

WINDTHORST AND THE WOMAN PROBLEM

AMONG the social issues of the day the woman problem is fast assuming a most serious aspect. The clear and emphatic pronouncements of the Holy Father upon this subject and his insistence upon the need of Catholic women's associations indicate the attitude of the Church in its regard. Socialism, with its paganizing influence and its organized suppression of the supernatural in human conduct and principle, has tried to give to it a purely materialistic interpretation. An education without Christ or religion is daily aiding in this work, and Catholic vigilance is imperative.

Since no Catholic interest ever escaped the observation of the great lay apostle of Germany, we are not surprised to find in the utterances of Windthorst his clearly formulated opinions on the place that woman is called to fill in the vast work of modern social regeneration.

Nothing could exceed his own personal interest in her most indispensable mission. The love and veneration he cherished for womankind was as deep as life and as sacred as religion. It was a love that can be learned in its perfection only in the Catholic Church, and there only at the feet of the Immaculate Mother of God.

I shall begin with an incident which has greatly helped to endear him to the hearts of his admirers. The story tells how, to win his bride, he trained his unskilled fingers to play on the guitar; how in the ardor of his love and with his natural near-sightedness, he fell into a stream he had to cross while bringing her his first serenade; how at that most critical of moments, just as her dripping lover had gathered up himself and his unlucky instrument from the treacherous waters of the brook, she suddenly appeared upon the scene; and how, there

and then, with the decision peculiar to the future parliamentarian, he spoke the momentous word, which was never to be regretted, much less to be recalled.

The course of true love never yet ran smooth, is an old saying, but this was the one and only mishap in a love which lasted more than fifty years upon this side of the grave, and which never grew older by a single day. The reason for this was not far to find. The love which knit these two lives into one was not the blind Cupid with a bow, whom the world adores, but a golden seraph who ministers at the throne of God. It was that true love of which the Sacred Scripture speaks, the love wherewith Christ loved His Church, a love which is no less tender and true because it is likewise divine, a love which can never fail or fade, because it is founded in God.

Windthorst's solution of the woman problem was, therefore, as we may well expect, far from that offered by the social revolutionists of our day. It was based solidly upon religion and the true nature of Christian womanhood, whose dignity it was his joy and pride to exalt upon every occasion. To aid in lifting up woman to her lofty plane, to point out to her the sublime work which she was called to fulfil in the social action of the day, was one of his most cherished tasks.

The life of religion, he insisted, was the true sphere of womanly activity in shaping the destiny of the world. Her education, he held, must consist, not in competing with man for intellectual supremacy, but in cultivating in its perfection every finer quality of the heart, to reproduce the image of God, *Deus charitas est*—God is charity, is love. Woman was for him the mightiest power upon earth for good after the divinely founded Church. And the fulcrum and the lever wherewith she is to move the world are *inspiration* and *prayer;* —inspiration, which is woman's highest influence over man; and prayer, which constitutes her supreme influence over God Himself. Such was the sublime doctrine of Windthorst, and nowhere, perhaps, were these thoughts more clearly and

pithily expressed by him than in his address on the occasion of the golden jubilee of his own most happy marriage.

"I call upon the women," he then said, "to urge on the men whenever there is need of action and to insist with them, 'Now is the time to do your duty.' Here is the task of woman. But there is something of still greater importance: she must never cease from prayer. When the men are waging the battles without, the women should be upon their knees at home. This is the proper view. This is the vocation of woman."

This union of inspiration and prayer reveals to us the secret of the sublime power exercised by the greatest of women, in the world and in the cloister. It explains even the greatness of the Mother of God herself, whose prayers brought down God to earth, whose inspiration, aided by the wings of prayer, daily lifts up man to heaven. Such is the influence of every truly Christian woman. "The word of a woman," says Pope Pius X, "can work miracles." Who, then, shall tell the miracles that her prayers can work by the power of God.

It is remarkable that a non-Catholic, a woman of the widest experience in social work among her sex, has emphasized as the first of all factors in the true greatness of woman that same spiritual influence over others. "Woman was created originally not for the service of man, but together with man for the joint service of her Maker." She therefore is to love her fellow-creatures, including man, "not less, but only less selfishly. Instead of wishing their attention to be fixed on her, she wishes it fixed *with* her on the ideal to which she herself is dedicated.—And such are the women who inspire men."

Only when she realizes this, we are wisely told, has she attained her true freedom. But to follow out her high vocation she must first be taught in a truly Christian education, to note with delicate appreciation and spiritual insight all that is good and beautiful, true and noble and pure in life in order that she may communicate to others her own divine ideals. She must first give herself entirely to God before she can hope to draw up the human race along with her. For this is her only

mission. It is the greatest conceivable to man. It is the mission of Christ Himself. Such is the education of which Windthorst spoke as proper to woman.

This, of course, does not exclude other knowledge, especially such as is important for her state in life. But it points out the one thing of supreme importance in her education, the one thing which the modern world is overlooking. And precisely for this oversight is it paying in the disorders of to-day.

"While woman is only woman," thoughtless of her high mission, "man feels himself always the wiser and the stronger, and there is a touch of condescension often in the protection which even the best of men will put round women merely good. Only the woman touched by the 'divine fire,' only the woman who can *inspire,* gets beyond this. In the presence of such a woman a man will quicken with the sense of something new, something great which he has not discovered, a force not of his rousing, nor within his controlling. Such women men will regard first with wonder—then quickly, the best of them will extend to them that comradeship which holds no condescension, but is a recognition of force independent, equal, or perhaps even greater, as in some cases they may feel it is." But such women the Catholic Church, and not a "Coming Order," with all its errors and insufficiencies, must produce.

The ideal woman, as Windthorst described her, has seldom been more perfectly realized than in her whom God had given him to be his helpmate in the truest sense of the word. A perfect picture of this heroic woman, this womanly woman, this mistress of inspiration and prayer, perfect in her humblest household duties as in the great oblation of her entire life, is left us in the message of condolence conveyed to her by the Centre at the death of the great Catholic leader.

"We have learned from the lips of the deceased," it reads, "what his modesty urged him at all times to insist upon,—how great a share your excellency had in making him all that he was to us. His perseverance in our midst even to the utmost of bodily endurance was due, he constantly told us, to

the spur of the 'strong woman' whom the Scripture extolls, who presided over her household and pointed out to her husband his public mission and the work which duty called upon him to perform."

In her, too, was realized Windthorst's ideal of the Christian mother. Nothing could more beautifully describe this than his suggestion for her picture. He desired she should have it taken while sitting with catechism in hand and listening to her boy as he recites his lesson at her knee. The maiden, before she takes the veil—whether for the cloister or the wedding—he naïvely said, would best be pictured with her rosary. (*Waisenfreund, Jr.*, 51, *p.* 501.) These, it must be remembered, are not the thoughts of an ascetic or recluse, but of perhaps the greatest and foremost statesman of his time.

Such must be the mothers and wives who would give to the world a generation of heroes and of saints. What Windthorst was to Germany, what he now is for the entire world, we owe, more perhaps than we can ever learn, to her who was his support by prayer and his inspiration by counsel and encouragement in his self-sacrifice of over fifty years.

We have not entered here upon the field of woman's social and political activities in our day. Yet the principles of Windthorst which we have quoted will readily suggest the solution of many of our modern problems.

XXV

SOCIAL MISSION OF CATHOLIC WOMEN

SOCIALISM to-day is striving with a frenzied effort to rally under its red banner of revolt the workingwomen of the world. But its agitation is not limited to these alone. It is carried on with no less zeal among the women teachers and pupils in our schools and colleges and universities throughout the land. The most potent factor in this propaganda are the Socialist women's organizations everywhere established and growing with the rapidity of the Socialist movement itself. "The foundations of the present order are undermined," says Bebel, "the revolutionary spirit enters everywhere. Hence woman is not to remain inactive; she must consecrate her forces to whomsoever shall affranchise her, together with the proletarian. With her assistance victory is ours."

France, Italy, Austria, Finland, Russia and England are already filled with women revolutionists working actively among the men, no less than among the members of their own sex. Even Japan has its translations of Kropotkin and of Marx from the hand of a Japanese Socialist woman. Reckless, revolutionary orators of the stamp of Eleanor Marx, who was the leading spirit in the great English dock strike of the eighties, and who later, like the other daughter of the founder of modern Socialism, took her own life because "no longer endurable" to her, are now to be found among the Socialist women of every country. They represent all classes and types, ranging from the syndicalist "spirit-woman" of Italy, Marie Rygier, who delights in speeding her automobile and harangueing Socialist audiences, to the "flaming torch" of Germany, the famous virago of the Socialist Party, Rosa Luxemburg. Of Clara Zetkin, editor of the Socialist women's journal *Gleichheit,* we are told that the audiences she addresses

in her vehement speeches often average for considerable periods no less than twenty thousand souls a week.

Perhaps nowhere is the Socialist women's movement better organized than in Germany itself, where hundreds of thousands of women have already joined its ranks; while their boycotts upon dealers, their contributions to Socialist funds, their distribution of leaflets and their constant work of organization and campaigning are of the most material service to the party whose cause they espouse. Cabs and wagons were even hired by them at the Reichstag elections to gather up the men wherever they could be found and bring them to the polling places.

The Catholic women of Germany, in the meanwhile, have likewise begun to realize that they are called upon to take an active part in this important struggle, upon which depend their homes and their religion. Steps were even taken by them, at the invitation of the Centre, to organize a woman's auxiliary for the service of the party. This was done at Düsseldorf, where five thousand women instantly responded to the call for volunteers. Everywhere throughout Germany there is manifested the same active interest in the work of organization for social, economic and charitable purposes. The movement was first put on foot by the Centre, when in 1903 it prepared the way for the United Catholic Women's Association, the *Katholische Frauenbund.*

Simultaneously with this was founded in France that other great organization of Catholic women known as the *Ligue Patriotique des Françaises.* Similar enthusiasm was soon manifested in other countries, until finally, in 1911, as we have recently been told, the Holy Father had the happiness of giving his blessing in the Eternal City to the assembled delegates of an International Federation of Catholic Women. To-day we, too, have the satisfaction of beholding the women of the United States actively undertaking the same task of centralization, begun for them by the Louisiana State Convention and the Central Verein, and further promoted by the stirring

appeal of the Archbishop of Milwaukee. The consummation of this glorious work, we most earnestly hope, will be the establishment of a mighty and magnificent National American League of Catholic Women worthy of the greatness of the Church which it is to represent before the world.

A glance at the united Socialist women's organization in our own country may serve as a stimulus for our Catholic women. The movement began when the present Socialist Party was formed, during the convention of 1901, at which eight regularly elected women delegates attended. In the following convention, held in 1904, the number of women delegates had not increased; but a new impetus was thenceforth given to the movement. In 1908, twenty women delegates were elected, coming from fourteen different States. At this convention the Women's National Committee was formed, consisting of five members, to whom was entrusted the task of planning and supervising the work of propaganda and organization among their sex, while a special woman organizer was permanently kept in the field.

Since that time the various Socialist women's locals have been untiring in arranging Socialist lectures, printing and distributing Socialist literature, establishing and personally conducting Socialist Sunday Schools, carrying on their agitation for women's suffrage, which they consider to be their special mission, introducing Socialism into women's labor organizations, preaching the doctrine of the class struggle whenever an opportunity offered itself, whether in private or upon the platform, and fearlessly mounting the soap-box wherever a women's gathering took place. Thus at the meeting of the Women's Trade Union, held at Boston in 1911, a resolution indorsing a Socialist daily paper was introduced and carried by them with but little opposition. Books and periodicals and journals defending the greatest freedom of divorce, maintaining the right of mothers to restrict according to their own good pleasure the number of their offspring, and often openly countenancing the teaching of free-love, are widely circulated by

them among the working women of our land. At the Socialist Convention of 1912 women delegates formed one of the most active and aggressive elements. Organization of working women, agitation for women's suffrage and a vast distribution of Socialist literature were among the principal features of their activity.

It is evident, therefore, that Catholic women can no longer be indifferent to the great social issues; and while they may not adopt all the practices of their revolutionary sisters, they can find in the activity of Socialist women, and especially in the literary propaganda and zeal for organization displayed by them, sufficient suggestiveness to indicate the methods which they themselves must follow in carrying out their divine mission to mankind.

It is their duty, not merely to introduce into their own homes a truly apostolic spirit, but likewise to safeguard the large body of their sisters, no less from the moral danger of Socialism than from the grinding extortion of the sweatshop and the unspeakable degradation of the white slave traffic. The fact that the home is daily being disintegrated under our very eyes by modern social conditions and modern irreligious education, is but another reason which makes most imperative the work of Catholic women to save the homes that are still untouched by this blight of our age, and to protect the daily increasing number of those who are no longer with any ties of family life.

"The talk about home would all be very well," says a business woman, "if it were possible for every woman to have a home of her own, but what are we to do when there are eight million women in the United States to-day who leave their homes every morning to earn their living just the same as men, and for low wages at that—a great many of them getting barely enough to keep body and soul together." (*Catholic Transcript.*)

A thousand channels of social usefulness are, therefore, thrown open to the Catholic woman; but the work is so vast

that individual efforts can count for little, valuable and altogether indispensable as these are in themselves. Strong Catholic organization and energetic Catholic leadership, together with the most unselfish cooperation on the part of all are the most crying need of our time. Every truly Catholic woman must give her best efforts to the work of Catholic organization, under the guidance or with the approbation of the divinely constituted ecclesiastical authority. This last, as the Holy Father wisely says, is for us the one unfailing bond of apostolic unity in all our manifold endeavors. "By so doing," he tells the Catholic women of the world, "you can accomplish worthily the most noble mission that women have in society. It is said that you belong to the weaker sex, but you can show the world wonderful examples of firmness which the so-called stronger sex lacks, as they do not know the sublime virtue of sacrifice."

Catholic organizations, like individuals, have their social duties. They are not intended merely for a selfish benefit, or a mutual benevolence restricted to the circle of their membership. They are rather to be living centres of Catholic activity, whence shall irradiate the light of truth and the warmth of charity to the farthest limits of the earth. They are to be fountain sources of Catholic literary propaganda, whence Catholic books, journals, pamphlets and leaflets are to spread like a mighty deluge into every nook and corner of our country.

To describe in detail the vast possibilities of social work on the part of Catholic women is far beyond the scope of this chapter. They may, nevertheless, be summed up briefly and adequately in three comprehensive words which should be inscribed in letters of gold upon the banner of every Catholic women's association. They come from the lips of the Holy Father himself: Religious Education, Charity, Sacrifice!—such is the epitome of women's social duties as given them by the Supreme Pontiff during the convention of the International Federation of Catholic Women, held at Rome. It perfectly expresses the threefold ideal of woman's social activity. For

gloss and comment we have but to study the Sovereign Pontiff's own words of explanation, warm and throbbing with that same divine zeal which has inspired all his utterances. To the women delegates then assembled in his presence he said:

"Your mission is threefold. First, it is a mission of religion through the diffusion of *religious education;* practical teaching more than anything else is required of you, and you must afford examples of Christian virtues."

It is a twofold duty of teaching, therefore, that is here committed to them: a duty of giving to the world its sublime lessons of Catholic truth and virtue both by word and by exmple.

"Then," he continued, "there is a mission of *charity* which you can accomplish in a thousand ways. Do not only help the poor, but also and more those who need to be recalled on the path of virtue, and remember that truth spoken by a woman can work miracles.

"Your third mission is that of *sacrifice,* and I need not give you any recommendations on this score, as you understand and accomplish well this mission daily. If you accomplish these three missions you fully deserve God's blessing for yourselves and also for all other women who need comfort in their affliction."

XXVI

A PRIESTLY IDEAL

WILHELM EMMANUEL VON KETTELER, the illustrious Bishop of Mainz, the pioneer of the Catholic social movement, was born at Münster on Christmas Day, 1811. Emmanuel the grateful parents called him, in honor of the Word made flesh. Little did they know how precious was to be that Christmas gift of theirs, not merely for themselves, but for the German people, and indeed for the whole Catholic world. The light of the star of Bethlehem which shone upon the cradle of that little one was never to fade from his life. His love for the poor and afflicted was a spark enkindled in his heart by the Christ-Child. He, too, was to be a high priest of Christ's people, and the first words he addressed to his flock were a public "vow of poverty": the avoidance of all superfluity in his belongings, and the consecration to charity of himself and of all that he could spare from his episcopal income. This pledge he solemnly kept, and when he died his death was like that foreshadowed at the crib. There was nothing that he could leave to the world except his blessing and the result of his labors.

Of magnificent and commanding presence, with clear-cut features and kindly yet penetrating glance, Bishop Ketteler exercised an irresistible power wherever he appeared. His voice could sway the largest audiences, and his written word was eloquently expressive of his great personality. Of the many "claims of reverence" that met in him we can here consider only one: his position as the founder and the leader of the Catholic social movement.

His first great social utterance turned the eyes of all Germany upon him. It was in the memorable year 1848, when as pastor of Hopsten and representative of the Frankfurt

Parliament he was called upon to speak at the grave of two deputies who had been brutally slain by a furious mob: "Who," he asked, "are the murderers of our friends? Is it indeed those who have riddled their bodies with bullets? No, it is not they. It is the thoughts that bring forth good and wicked deeds on earth." Not altogether the frenzied men who so mercilessly killed and mangled their victims were guilty of this deed; but rather they who by their sneers at Christ and Christianity and the Church had tried to pluck the Faith from the hearts of the people.

In the progress of his speech he then pointed to the appalling contrasts of poverty and greed, of misery and voluptuousness in the life about him, and to those false leaders who already had begun to set the poor against the rich, and who instead of striving to heal the wounds of society were only engaged in tearing them open more widely. There was in his voice neither terror nor despair, but only a strong, unconquerable hope in Christ and in His Church, the one salvation of mankind.

That same year he delivered his six famous sermons on the "Social Questions of the Day" in the Cathedral of Mainz. He showed the supreme importance of the social problem, which neither politics nor change of government could ever solve. In clear, masterly phrase, he demonstrated how incompatible with the safe, orderly and peaceful management of industry is the false Communism, whose heir is the Socialism of to-day. He contrasted with it the true Christian Communism, by which the rich are taught the salutary lesson that to God alone, and not to them, belongs the absolute possession of the goods which are entrusted to them. They were the stewards of the Lord charged with serious duties towards the laborer and the poor.

Unlike the false leaders, whose popularity depends upon flattering the vanity and pandering to the passions of the multitude, in strong but gentle language he reproved the faults of the poor themselves. The expression "Property is theft" he

denounced as a monstrous lie, but admitted that it contained a terrible truth. "We must labor entirely to destroy the truth in it," he said, "that it may once more become totally a lie." The purpose of God in permitting inequality of earthly goods was that charity and all the virtues of the social life might be practiced.

With a master hand, in a dialogue which deserves to become a classic, he describes the origin of Socialism as derived from the Godless Liberalism of which it is the logical conclusion. If Liberalism is right in its principles, he argues, then Socialism must be correct in its deductions. "If the State is the present God, if the law is absolute, who can dispute the right of the State to reform the laws regulating private property?" He then continues in his strong, graphic language:

"Liberalism laughs at the word eternity; it sneers at the consolations of religion. Material enjoyment is man's only destiny. This is why it tries to monopolize all the wealth of the world. It finds it quite natural that ninety per cent. of humanity should be excluded from the banquet in order that the elect remnant may live in satiety. The Socialists answer: 'We also laugh with you at eternity; we also sneer at the idea of a recompense in the other world to make up for the miseries of the present one. You have taught us in your press and in your schools what we ought to think of such specimens of priestcraft. But if there is no eternity, if our life ends with this life, and if our happiness consists exclusively in the gratification of the senses, it is an unpardonable crime to prevent ninety per cent. of humanity from following their vocation and to advise them to sacrifice themselves in the interests of the other ten per cent. Therefore all must be given an equal share in the goods of earth; all must do their share of work and be paid accordingly. To-day it happens only too frequently that lazy, unscrupulous coupon holders have all, and the workman has nothing, nothing of all that which can make man happy; this state of things is intolerable.' These conclusions are not true, because the principles of Liberalism are false,

because Christianity is right when it says that there is an eternity, that sensual enjoyment is not the end of man and cannot render him happy, that God is his end, that God alone can satisfy his hunger after happiness. But if Liberalism were right, Socialism would be logical, Liberalism would be nothing but a monster of selfishness." (*Translations by George Metlake in Ecclesiastical Review.*)

It was in the year 1848, a few weeks before the French Revolution, that Marx flung upon the labor world the Communist Manifesto, that contains in principle all subsequent Socialist developments. The contrast between the founders of the two opposing social movements, the Socialistic and the Catholic, presents a picture of absorbing interest.

Both were working simultaneously, independently, and from different points of view, at the solution of the same problem. Both were born leaders of most remarkable gifts, of originality in thought, of boundless capacity for work, of fiery temperament, of utter fearlessness in the enunciation of their principles. Each was supreme in his field. "Marx stood higher, saw farther, took a wider, clearer, quicker survey than all of us," said Engels, his colaborer; "Marx was a genius, we others were, at best, men of talent." Ketteler, on the other hand, was no less unquestionably the greatest prelate in the social sphere. Marx, inspired with the hatred of the lost archangel, casting off all religion and belief in God, fulminated his thunders against the entire state of existing Society. Confusing abuses with inherent evils, he strove, under cover of materialistic evolution, to set class against class in a deadly conflict, lifting up the battle cry which was to arouse every latent passion of envy, greed and hatred in the hearts of his followers. "Expropriate the expropriators!" was his summons to the people. Ketteler, on the contrary, urged on by the Spirit of God, came to bring peace and blessing to the world. With all the power of his high office, his majestic presence and his stirring eloquence, he fearlessly set his face against the oppression of the poor, the injustice of the law, the godless-

ness of the schools, and the usurpation of the authority of the Church by the State. To these last two causes he rightly attributed in largest measure the abject poverty of the masses. He came to minister spiritually and temporally to the wants of the poor and to reorganize the working classes. That many of the conditions he describes no longer exist is largely due to his initiative, and the future development both of industry and of organization, which he clearly foretold, has introduced mighty changes in the social problem.

According to Marxian philosophy, the root of all the world's evil, of vice as well as of poverty, is purely economic, and therefore a state of prosperity and universal virtue can be effected only by economic causes. This is the essential doctrine of the Marxian theory; for if men remain such as they are the Socialistic commonwealth must clearly be impossible. The Socialists themselves confess it. Ketteler's mind saw further. He, too, recognized the economic causes and pointed them out; but beneath them all, in the soil untouched by Marx or Engels, he found the real root of all disorder, original sin.

"How is it possible," he asked, "that on the one hand we see rich men, in the face of the most elementary laws of nature and without a qualm of conscience, wasting their substance riotously, while the poor are starving and the children degenerate? How is it possible for us to relish superfluities whilst out brothers are in want of the barest necessaries of life? How is it possible that our hearts do not break in the midst of revelry and song when we think of the sick poor who in the heat of the fever are stretching out their hands for refreshment and no one is by to give it to them?" Then after describing the saddest of all sights, the little children growing up in vice and sin, he continues: "And on the other hand, how is it possible that the poor and their godless seducers, contrary to all natural right and all common sense, embrace the absurd theory of false Communism, and look to it for salvation, though it is so evident that it would drag all humanity down to its ruin?" The answer, he says, is to be found in the doc-

trine of original sin, without which man must remain a mystery to himself. Christ and His Church alone can afford the remedy.

When Ketteler was raised to the dignity of Bishop of Mainz a new sphere of usefulness was thrown open to him. He soon showed that he was not, like Marx, a mere theorist; nor, like Lassalle, a utopian agitator. He was practical even to the least detail. He understood that the first conditions for social regeneration were the religious life, the Catholic school and the Catholic press. After a bitter fight against the surviving Josephism and kindred state oppression he succeeded in founding within his diocese a truly Catholic seminary. He allowed himself no rest until he had introduced all the religious orders necessary for the countless charitable and educational works projected by him. He organized Christian labor associations of the most varied kinds and spread those already in existence, and towards the end of his life was actively engaged in planning the foundation of a society for the erection of workingmen's homes. He even desired to test the advantages of voluntary cooperative labor; but although he communicated with Lassalle upon this subject his work was not to be based upon Lassallian principles. A voluntary Christian Communism was an ideal which he always dearly cherished.

Perhaps most remarkable was the wisdom shown in his proposed legislative enactments. We quote from the draft of a political program, published by him during the year 1873, in which he makes the following demands on the Government:

"1. Reorganization of the craft and labor classes.

"2. Legal protection for working children and women against capitalistic greed.

"3. Labor protection by laws to restrict the hours of labor and establish the Sunday rest.

"4. Legal protection to provide for the health and morality of laborers in their places of work.

"5. Appointment of inspectors to supervise these protective laws enacted in favor of labor."

Each of these regulations, down to definite practical details elsewhere indicated by him, has actually been adopted by the Government, and if Germany to-day stands foremost among the nations of Europe for her intelligent labor legislation it is largely due to the wisdom and enterprise of Bishop Ketteler. He himself was a member of the Centre Party until, owing to existing circumstances, he deemed it more consonant with his episcopal dignity to withdraw from the conflicts of parliamentary debates. Yet what is most admirable and what most endears him to our hearts is the fact that amid all these great undertakings he could always find time for his ceaseless visits to the poor and the afflicted. His means, his time and all his strength he looked upon, in the spirit of a divine and apostolic Communism, as belonging to them.

Bishop Ketteler was far more than a mere theorizer. His work lives on in the countless establishments of education founded or newly developed by him, and in the organizations which sprang up under the inspiration of his word. The power of Socialism and Liberalism—which among us may be called Rationalism—was attributed by him to the strength of their organizations and the influence they exercise on the press and the elections. "We must fight them with their own weapons," was the lesson that he taught.

"He was my great precursor in the social field," the "Pope of the workingmen," Leo XIII, could truly say of him upon whose grave the Catholic laborers of Germany in tender affection placed their wreath with the inscription: "The Bishop of the Workingmen."

XXVII

SOLIDARISM: A CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SYSTEM

SOCIAL ideas, however motived or perverted, are surely and rapidly replacing the individualist philosophies of the Reformation. Egoism and greed, no less than modern revolutionism, must hide themselves under cover of the new thoughts of the brotherhood and solidarity of all mankind. Yet these ideas, when stripped of contradictions and Socialistic errors and exaggerations, are nothing but the obvious expression of Catholic doctrine, ancient as the Church.

The direction, therefore, of modern thought, however far it overshoots its mark, is towards Catholic truth. The more this fact is realized by us, and placed before the world in its proper light and prominence—set in its own magnificent perspective of twenty centuries of Catholic social teaching, the better can we hope finally to prepare men for an acceptance of Catholic doctrine itself. Thus alone can they become truly free and equal according to the plan outlined by God Himself in His great works of the creation and redemption of the human race.

This truth of the Church's mission to our age and of her divinely given opportunities is keenly appreciated by many outside of her fold. That Protestantism, on the contrary, has lost its hold upon the world is the confession its ministers themselves are constantly making.

"It is said the cloth has lost its power—it has. It is said the pulpit has lost its power—it has," the Rev. Lyman Abbott freely admitted in addressing a large body of university students. "But a man, altruistic in the highest sense and spiritual, will never lose his." The formation of such men is the direct effect of those Sacraments which Christ has given to His Church. Her power, therefore, can never be lost in any

age, and must especially be felt in our own. "It may seem humorous," says a Socialist author, "to speak of that Church, which of all modern powers clings most resolutely to the past, as a progressive force. Yet nothing can grow that is not rooted; where are the roots of Protestantism, considered, not as an individual attitude, but as a social religion?"

The Catholic Church is founded by Christ for society as well as for the individual. She has an authentic message from God for all mankind collectively as well as for each soul in particular. It is perhaps above all else her great social mission which constitutes her power before the world in the present era of industrial development. This truth our enemies have often perceived more clearly than we ourselves.

From Protestantism Socialism dreads nothing; from Capitalism, but little; from the Catholic Church, everything.

But what then, we are asked, is the social system which the Church endorses? The Church proposes no social system as such, but she clearly defines all the social principles which must be adopted by any system which Catholics may accept without disloyalty to their religion. These principles can be found clearly formulated in such documents as the encyclicals of Pope Leo upon "Christian Democracy" and upon "The Conditions of the Working Classes." Yet even these writings are nothing more than present-day applications of the same unaltered and unalterable principles which have ever been acknowledged by the Church since the days of the apostles.

Solidarism, therefore—a word used by Father Henry Pesch, S.J., in his *Nationalökonomie*—is only a farther crystallization of such Catholic doctrine into a sound Christian social system. It regards civil society as a moral organism whose principle is authority and whose bond of unity is not only the brotherhood of man, but likewise the fatherhood of God. It sees in society the likeness of the Blessed Trinity, as it beholds in each individual the image of God. And finally it draws from these truths the consistent conclusions of strict moral obligations of "each to all and all to each!"

Solidarism is equally opposed to Individualism on the one side and to Socialism on the other. The former acknowledges no social obligations beyond the safeguarding of unhampered individual interests. Its object is the greatest productivity of labor and the amassing of the utmost wealth. It assures to the laborer no other protection than the safety, in theory at least, of his property and person; while its main responsibility is to make adequate provision for the stability and execution of all industrial and commercial contracts.

Against this economic monstrosity of pagan selfishness Socialism has entered into the field. But equally devoid of all true ethical principles, and, at its best, officially rejecting all relation between religion and economics, it has added a new danger to our age and given the worker a new foe to combat. Many to-day still offer it their allegiance because they imagine to see in it the only champion of labor against the modern dragon of Individualism which has long seared the world with its breath. For such men, whom the materialism of Socialist literature has not already attainted in mind or heart, there still remains a hope that they may eventually be won over to the principles of a true Christian solidarity.

Solidarism, while it strongly opposes the unbounded license of private capital, and claims for the laborer his due share in the progress of culture and the hightened productivity of his toil, at the same time rejects all Socialist excesses and safeguards all rightful and duly regulated independence of individuals and associations.

It insists upon the Catholic truth that the earth was created for all mankind, and not for the exclusive benefit of a favored few; but it denies that the purpose of material goods, which is to minister to the needs of all men, is frustrated by the institution of private property, even in the means of production —provided only that this is interpreted according to Christian principles and not in the spirit of a pagan Individualism. It is the duty both of State and Church, each in its own sphere, to see that such interpretation is properly enforced. Just and

prudent expansion of municipal control and voluntary co-operative enterprises, founded upon no Socialistic compulsion and injustice, are likewise to be fully sanctioned wherever deemed desirable.

Solidarism is based upon Christianity and finds its justification in no blind law of economic determinism, but in the creative act of God by which the first man and woman were made unto His likeness, in order that from them all mankind might be derived in a common brotherhood of true blood-relationship, with the same supreme and intensely personal destiny to be shared by each: the eternal fruition of God Himself.

Here, therefore, is found in one argument the refutation of both Individualism and Socialism. The former denies in practice the substantial equality and mutual love which are implied in the fact of a common origin of all mankind. The latter ignores those individual rights which are emphasized by the individual destiny of each man—rights which no state and no majority can have the power to abrogate, which must only be effectively controlled for the common good. Here consequently are defined for the state both the duty of interference, denied by Individualism, and the limits of its authority, overlooked by Socialism.

In Solidarism, as in every Catholic concept of society, the private economic interests are not merely coordinate with the public, but always subordinate to them. In every clash or compromise the former must yield to the latter. The general good is the end of civil society and private industrial enterprises can under no circumstances and in no epoch of civilization form any exception to this rule. Wherever, therefore, the individual in his industrial and commercial relations, or in his function as private owner, infringes upon the common welfare of society, he must find his rights regulated and his independence subordinated in as far as such measures are required for the general good of all.

This is not Socialism, but Catholic doctrine in its most elementary concepts. It does not postulate the sweeping away of

twenty centuries of Christian civilization, founded upon the rights of private property, and the unconditioned and enforced surrender to a mere theory which in all its partial trials has proved an absolute failure; but only the due regulation of personal rights according to Christian principles. Industrial freedom, economic initiative and independence, held within proper bounds, are indispensable for the common good as they are inviolable from a Christian point of view.

Solidarism, therefore, requires, as a matter of the strictest social obligation, the cooperation of each individual, association, group and class towards the common good: and the protection in return by the commonwealth of every private right of individual, association, group or class. The first duty of the State is towards the weak and helpless. Taxation is not to be regarded as an individualistic exchange of money for service received, but is to be proportioned according to the possibilities of each citizen to further the common welfare.

Organizations, especially of crafts, of employers and employed, Solidarism would foster in every way; but it requires that they be founded upon religion. Unlike Socialism, it calls for Christian charity towards all classes alike, and does not pander to the passions of the multitude by denying that labor will readily become unjust in its organized demands unless controlled by religious principles. Justice and charity for all, are its watchwords. In the same manner it admits that extravagance may not be the failing of the rich alone, but may extend to all classes of society, as it so frequently does in our day. The virtues of thrift and almsgiving, which Socialism denounces from revolutionary motives, it no less strongly emphasizes in accordance with the teaching of Christ and of His Church.

"But how," the reader will rightly wish to know, "can such a system be carried into effect?" We answer: By the threefold power of morality, charity and law.

The first two conditions can most surely be attained by the widest possible diffusion of a sound, fearless and consistent

Catholicity. Nothing, as we are still to show, can help to this so greatly as the most frequent and fervent reception of the Holy Eucharist in all our parishes. Not one must be excepted. This divine means can not fail to produce in our own day, as in the days of the first Christians, a generation, not only of champions of the faith, but of apostles as well. Like the Israelites, we shall not fight alone, but God will fight on our side.

But do we then really hope, the incredulous ask, to convert "the tiger-hearts of the supermen?" That this requires a wonder of the grace of God we readily admit; yet who will limit His bounty or circumscribe His mercies. The Church has accomplished wonders as great as this. But conversion, let us hasten to say, is not our only hope. There still remains the power of the law as a compelling force. This even now Catholics, and especially Catholic societies, can help to regulate by signed petitions and by united protests, voiced strongly and effectively at the polls.

"Whenever the general interest of any particular class suffers, or is threatened with mischief which can in no other way be met or prevented, the public authority must step in to deal with it," says Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical *On the Conditions of the Working Classes.* The limits, however, of such action, he adds, "must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference—the principle being that the law must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief."

It must, moreover, always be borne in mind that no mere betterment of material conditions can ever radically remedy the present evils. Experience has already amply attested this. Socialism is, therefore, no less a danger than the Individualism from which it would free society; and in denying the rights of all except the working population it is causing still more hopeless confusion. Above all, it ignores entirely a most important part of the social problem, one which Solidarism would par-

ticularly emphasize: the support and encouragement to be given to the middle classes.

The social question is at its core a religious question, as the great "Pope of the workingmen" has so strongly and so often stated, and can be solved only according to religious principles. The doctrine of Christian solidarity which these inculcate, and its relentless application to all the industrial and economic problems of our own age and of every past and future epoch, constitute the social system we have here described under the name of Solidarism.

XXVIII

THE DIVINE REMEDY

THE rapid growth of Socialism in our own country is a fact which has been thrust upon the observation of even the most skeptical. The many explanations which are offered to diminish its significance are largely unsatisfactory. Men who at first enter the movement with but vague motives to impel them are likely soon to be changed into enthusiastic promoters. "Never be satisfied with making a convert," is the Socialist principle; "you must make an apostle." There is one means which insures these effects and which will continue to produce them in an ever greater extent, and that is the prodigious and universal diffusion of Socialist literature. In spite of all the exhortations of the Holy Father, we have done comparatively little for the cause of the Catholic press; but Socialists have fully seized their opportunity. The propaganda of Socialist literature is being promoted at the cost of every sacrifice. Yet not one of all these sheets but carries in it the seeds of infection and of death. In one meeting alone the motion was passed to publish ninety million copies of propaganda matter. We may have warned our people against the danger of the poison so frequently offered them; but who can say that we have succeeded in stimulating a similar diffusion of that Catholic literature which can furnish the antidote.

Here, therefore, is the main ground why we say that the growth of Socialism presents no illusion, and that it is a reality which we shall be called upon to reckon with even far more seriously in the future.

To every unprejudiced student who still is imbued with the truth of the supernatural and makes of it the guiding light of his thinking and his acting, Socialism is the most complete expression of all that was embodied by St. John in that one word,

"the world," as opposed to the spirit of Christ. With "the world," whether found in Capitalist oppression or in Socialist class-hatred and Materialism, the Christian can have no common cause. From it he can merely look for deadliest opposition, even though it should come to him under the guise of well-feigned friendship.

The weapons which first and foremost we must therefore have in readiness are those of the spirit, and the mightiest among these is the Holy Eucharist. "How," we might once have asked, "are we to surmount the indifference, the irreverence, the doubt and denial which the agnostic surroundings of our Catholic population are so likely to beget?" This is no longer a problem for us. The Holy Spirit Himself has clearly taught us the answer. It is most evidently contained in those great, providential decrees on Frequent and Early Communion. Should we fail to avail ourselves of these even to the utmost, the negligence indeed were folly; but disobedience by setting them aside were fatal unto death. Our greatest hope is in the Sacred Heart which beats within the Eucharist.

The arm of God is not shortened and the wonders of the Eucharist in the Church of the early centuries shall repeat themselves to-day. The same power that conquered the paganism of old can triumph over the godlessness of the modern world. What was the source of strength to the early Christian in days like our own if not the Holy Eucharist, received by the faithful at every Mass and borne in napkins of immaculate white to the prison cell? Thus was the flame of living fire kindled in the breast of the believer, and spreading outward and onward under the breath of the Holy Spirit, the Pentecostal storm, it at last enwrapped the earth in a conflagration of Divine Love.

These decrees, therefore, are not hasty conclusions and arbitrary laws. They have been given only "after mature deliberations." There is the divine foreknowledge of God directing us through them. It is only at our peril that we can afford to ignore them.

Let our children come at the earliest age; give them the benefit of every doubt; let them continue daily, if possible; certainly let each day find great numbers at the Sacred Table. Several times a week they can go, and, thanks be to God! are doing so in many parishes. Hearing the confessions by divisions on the various days of the week; freely lessening the unnecessary confessions for those who are practically daily communicants, as is deemed prudent in each case; leaving the first hour of class free for successive divisions on the different days of the week; all these are means which have been tried with success. Let us write as an admonition over the door of our room the words of the decree: "Those who have charge of children must take the utmost care that after the First Communion the said children should approach the Holy Table very often and, if possible, even daily." By the previous decree it was made a point of duty, "frequently and with great zeal" to exhort all the faithful, old and young, to this practice. There is no question of a counsel, but of a strictly binding obligation and a divine command.

Thus to the rationalism and materialism about us we shall oppose the purely spiritual and invisible armor of the Eucharistic God. To the Socialistic destruction of authority and promotion of class-hatred we shall present the invincible charity of Christ, the Judge and Saviour of the world. To the vaunting pride and triumphant march of the hosts that are poured forth against us from the gates of hell we shall show, like the saints of old, the Sacred Host, displayed upon the walls of our citadel.

The duty laid upon parents by the Holy Father regarding the early and frequent Communion of their children is strongly to be insisted upon. In a pamphlet published by the writer in the *Catholic Mind,* and especially intended for distribution among Catholic parents to convince them of the need of the earliest and most frequent Communion of their children,*

*"Children's Early and Frequent Communion." The America Press, New York.

the words of the great pastoral of Cardinal Fischer are quoted:

"I am aware that—outside perhaps of certain religious schools—all children can not be trained to daily Communion in the *literal* sense of the term. But let us do what we can in this direction, under the care of zealous priests. If we cannot make our children approach the Holy Table every day, let them communicate several times a week, or at least, so far as may be, every Sunday and holy day." (*Catholic Fortnightly Review, Vol. XVIII, No.* 21.)

Early and frequent Communion alone, with that devotion to Our Lady always so tenderly entwined with it, can assuredly save the Home and the Child.

Children so nurtured upon the Bread of the strong and the Wine that bringeth forth virgins will never rise up against their priests and their bishops. They will never be numbered among the anti-clerical bigots of their age. They will never join in the Socialist hue and cry for the destruction of the Catholic school, which is the great bulwark of the Church in our times. He who moulds the character of the child makes the history of the future. There is no more powerful means given to the Catholic teacher or priest in the Catholic school for the formation of child-character than the Holy Eucharist.

There is a picture we have seen which appeared in one of the most virulent Socialist sheets that was ever issued from any press. It showed the army of the children of the poor, with a background of scaffolding and belching furnaces against the distant sky. On, on, they marched, with bodies bent in the speed of their irresistible advance—poor, starved little bodies, in tatters and in rags, with unkempt hair and wistful eyes and shouting lips. On, on they marched, not knowing what it meant, here and there a worker in their midst, grim and resolute, while in the van there walked a mother, wan and haggard, gazing with despairing look upon the infant at her breast. Onward, onward was the rush of all, full of men-

ace and revenge. And the legend read: "The future is the children's heritage."

Are we less interested in Christ's own little ones? Between the age of six and eleven is the period which will probably determine the formation of their character. With such Eucharistic habits as we can then instil, with such a conformation to the life of Christ as Holy Communion can divinely effect in them, there is no danger that we shall educate a generation like to that which Jansenism has given to France and abstention from the sacraments has produced in Portugal.

Great movements have already taken their inception in our own country. The march must begin with the children, as it has well been pictured. Shall its way be over our schools, our churches, our parishes; or shall we ourselves direct it for the glory of God in the cause of Christ and of His Church? We do not for one moment hesitate to say that the answer must largely depend, under divine Providence, upon the effect we gives to the decrees of the Church on Early and Frequent Communion.

In conclusion we must appeal to the Catholic laity heartily to cooperate on all sides in the urgent work of firm, vigorous and truly Catholic organization. A spirit of Catholic solidarity is the need of the hour. The opportunities for undertaking and accomplishing original work in the social service are certainly not wanting; but there are likewise countless Catholic enterprises already organized which are languishing for want of the support they most richly deserve. Let the reader choose among these and give to the service of his choice his whole heart's devotion. It is no time to stand idle. The Lord of the vineyard is seeking through the world for laborers to enter His service. Though His call should come to us only at the eleventh hour, we must not fail to heed it. His service will amply repay us.

There is, furthermore, the organized work of education, which calls for support in so many Catholic schools and colleges, where the true principles are instilled that alone can

save society. And, finally, simplest and most important, there is offered to every one the apostolate of bringing into each home the Catholic papers or periodicals which can do the greatest good. "In vain," the Holy Father tells us in words which have perhaps become monotonously familiar, yet which, nevertheless, call for constant repetition until they shall at last be heeded, "in vain do we build churches, give missions and found schools, if we are not at the same time providing ourselves with that one weapon of defence, the Catholic Press." Here, therefore, is pointed out for us the one personal service to which we all, no one excepted, are called, and without which all other service will be entirely inadequate. The support and defence of every Catholic interest depends upon the Catholic Press.

To the clergy, too, we may repeat the words which we have taken the liberty of addressing to them on a former occasion. Unlike Socialism, the Church is for all mankind; but the multitudes who must ever be her strength and her delight are the lowly and the poor of Christ. To these the Saviour's life was most tenderly devoted, and for these we too must sacrifice ourselves. If ever the Church in America would cease to be the Church of the poor; if ever her attention were mainly devoted to the rich; if ever the suspicion, so freely expressed, could be shown to be true that wealth more than immortal souls is the object of her thoughts, then her doom were justly sealed, and the bells from the steeples could only toll her passing knell. The forgetfulness of self, the labor unto weariness for the flock of Christ, the utter disdain for wealth—except where it is spent in glorifying the House of God and erecting over all the land the temples of Catholic education—these are our credentials before the world, they are the testimonies of our sincerity in the sight of the masses. They alone ring true and win for us the confidence of the laborer and the poor. They must feel that our house is ever open to them, our heart is ever warm for them, and our sympathies are at all times and on all occasions most eagerly enlisted in their cause. If, unlike the Socialist agitator, we are not blind to their failings

or their faults, it is only because our interest in them is genuine, our love is sincere, our charity is Christ-like.

In the face of the modern paganism, of which the excesses of wealth no less than the vices of Socialism are the shameless expression; in the presence of the idolatrous worship of worldly goods on the part of the poor as well as of the rich; in the struggle with the gospel of greed which would replace the gospel of Christ, and make of mere wealth and comfort the only object of existence, our own lives must shine out more than ever in Christ-like simplicity and divine contempt of all that is filling the world about us with envy and hatred and revolt. Our duty is, evidently, to press ever more and more closely to the feet of Christ, whether we seek Him in the poverty of the crib or the nakedness of the cross. The more Socialism would brand us with the disgraceful stigma of "priests of Mammon," the more must we show ourselves in truth to be the followers of the Crucified.

Here is clearly the first and indispensable condition for success. The laborer and the poor must feel that our house is open to them, our heart is warm for them, our sympathy is eagerly enlisted in their cause.

EPILOGUE

THE teachings of Christ clearly inculcate two lessons. They are, that neither Socialism nor individualistic capitalism can be accepted by a society which would deserve to be called Christian. Thus, therefore, the ground is cleared and an open field is left for the Christian social reformer. On him depends not merely the economic, but in a great measure likewise the spiritual salvation of the world.

Only the principles of the Gospel as taught by the Catholic Church can save society from following the will-o'-the-wisp of revolutionary doctrines into the mire and the quicksands of temporal and spiritual ruin. At the same time they must stimulate Christians, in the name of all that is most sacred, to a united and relentless opposition against every form of capitalism which is bent upon its own selfish aggrandizement and does not seek the welfare of the neighbor and the glory of God: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind, and with thy whole strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like to it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Mark, xii: 30, 31.)

In the doctrine of the Catholic Church we possess nothing less than the full teaching of Christ and the apostles, which, according to the divine promise, has been preserved inviolate through the ages amid all the changes of societies and systems. Here we have the basis for all social work. Only in so far as her principles are acknowledged can we approach the solution of the economic problem. Protestantism to-day is living upon the portion of its Catholic inheritance which it has not as yet entirely lost. The social movements among non-Catholics, in as far as they are conducted for the true welfare of society, are started with her capital. There is no way of replenishing this except by returning to her.

The condition of modern Christianity outside of the Catholic Church presents to us the sad picture of the prodigal, who, chafing at the restraint of his Father's house, went forth into a far country, the land of his newly won freedom, to enjoy the full emancipation from control he had so restlessly desired. Though leaving behind him all the special privileges and blessings of the Catholic Church, the home of God's bounties, he still retained some share in the patrimony of Christ, such portion as the Reformation had not at once deprived him of. But when this substance, too, was fast disappearing; when the graces of the Sacraments, the faith in a divine Redeemer, and the belief in an inspired Scripture had been largely lost to him; when with the authority of that infallible Church to which had been given the certain promise of the perpetual indwelling of the Holy Spirit and which could therefore never sink into error, there was sacrificed at the same time all sure guidance and correction, then indeed "there came a mighty famine in that country." Nothing remained but doubt, uncertainty and endless confusion of sects.

So we find him now; but he does not think as yet of returning to his Father's house, where loving hearts are anxiously awaiting him and longing eyes are searching far into the distance for the prodigal's return. His time of repentance has not yet come, and in Christian Socialism we see him cleaving —to use the pathetic language of the sacred text—"to one of the citizens of that country." In place of the divine Manna he is fed with "the husks" of hatred, rebellion, infidelity, immorality and atheism which he finds in Marx and Dietzgen, and Engels and Bebel. As he thus perishes with hunger, not for the food of the body but for the bread of eternal life, we pray and ask ourselves, how long before he too will enter into himself, will arise and return to his Father's house, to the unchanging and unchangeable Church of God, whence he has wandered, to the arms that are eagerly outstretched once more to enfold him.

The Church, however, does not merely offer him certainty

of faith and singleness of purpose; she not merely demands of him with equal insistence the exclusion of Socialism and the correction of an individualistic capitalism; but she likewise affords the remedies which are to be applied. The study of the economic problems in the light of her teaching will guide without failing the future social reformer who seeks to renew the world in the spirit of Christ, and who comes not with the manifesto of Marx, not with the lessons of a pagan greed, but like him who was sent before the face of the Lord: "A voice of one crying in the desert, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight His paths."

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